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PATRONAGE, PROFESSIONALISM AND YOUTH: THE EMERGING  
ARTIST AND LONDON'S ART INSTITUTIONS 1949–1988

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in Humanities and Cultural Studies

## Declaration

I, ALEXANDER MASSOURAS, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly while a candidate for a research degree at this University.
2. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed.
3. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work.
4. I have acknowledged all main sources of assistance.
5. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: .....

## ABSTRACT

### PATRONAGE, PROFESSIONALISM AND YOUTH: THE EMERGING ARTIST AND LONDON'S ART INSTITUTIONS, 1949–1988

[London: The London Consortium 2012]

In 1949, the first *Young Contemporaries* exhibition presented work by art school students in London. In 1988, *Freeze* displayed the work of artists who became known as the young British artists ('YBAs'). This dissertation offers a historical framework and a critical account of the concept of the 'emerging artist'—developed during the intervening forty years—a term typically associated with *Freeze* and the YBAs. The dissertation offers a corrective to the widely held belief that an interest in young and emerging artists was a new development in the 1980s, by reconnecting the notion with much earlier roots in the 1950s. It also revises the term's commercial connotation. 'Emerging artist' posits something yet to come, and is loaded with suggestions of investment and future value. These traits can be read as imprints of the marketplace. This research demonstrates that a focus on young artists' work in fact evolved as a result of changes to education and public patronage that occurred during the expansion of the welfare state. The art market contributed to the phenomenon, but did not shape it alone.

Alongside the historical account of these institutional changes this dissertation considers the relationship between characteristics associated with the emerging artist and those associated with creativity more generally. Judgments of quality and value are in part made institutionally: an artist's worth is attested by passage through prestigious educational institutions, exhibition in respected galleries, and collection by public institutions and important individuals. But there remains a conflicting appetite for these artists to be 'outsiders', expressed in the discourse which frames and receives them. It is in the 'emerging artist' that these competing demands can be reconciled. This analysis concludes by framing the 'emerging artist' as a paradigmatic artist, with dual appeal both as institutional 'insider' and romantic 'outsider'.



PATRONAGE, PROFESSIONALISM AND YOUTH: THE EMERGING ARTIST  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

On its first use, a term will be stated in full.

Below are abbreviations which recur throughout the thesis.

B.A.	Batchelor of Arts
C.N.A.A.	Council for National Academic Awards
Dip.A.D	Diploma in Art and Design
F.B.A.	Federation of British Artists
I.C.A.	Institute of Contemporary Arts
N.C.D.A.D.	National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design
N.D.D.	National Design Diploma
R.C.A.	Royal College of Art
R.A.	Royal Academy
R.S.B.A	Royal Society of British Artists
U.C.L.	University College London

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## INTRODUCTION

### Research Question

The ‘emerging artist’ is a popular subject, beloved of art magazines, exhibitions, television programmes and ‘coffee-table’ books alike. During this research, television series such as *School of Saatchi* and *Goldsmiths: But is it Art?* extended talent-spotting television formats to emerging artists.<sup>1</sup> Phaidon published *Creamier*, the fifth in a series of books that promote 100 emerging artists.<sup>2</sup> And columns dedicated to emerging artists continued to feature in art magazines: ‘Openings’ in *Artforum*, ‘Ouvertures’ in *Flash Art* and ‘Focus’ in *Frieze* to name but three.<sup>3</sup> The frequency with which emerging artists are covered upholds the conventional wisdom that artists do indeed ‘emerge’.

To assume that artists emerge is to assume they follow a certain narrative arc, and that their progress can be located in a predetermined story. This dissertation reconsiders the narrative of emergence and gives the ‘emerging artist’ concept a history. It provides two complementary accounts of the term’s development. An institutional history details how changes in education policy, the art market and public patronage contributed to a growth in the number and success of practising young artists in the second half of the twentieth century. A theoretical account then relates the identity of the emerging artist to an older image of the artist, and discusses relationships among youth, the idea of progress and the avant-garde.

These two aspects—the institutional and theoretical contexts—are in tension. The first describes a professionalization of young artist ‘insiders’, defined by their increasingly institutionalized progress through schools and galleries and into public collections. The second describes a resilient discourse of purity in which the young or emerging artist is forever an ‘outsider’, untouched by external influences. The former reflects the contemporary context for the production and dissemination of art; the latter is more

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<sup>1</sup> *School of Saatchi*. Dir. Abigail Priddle, first broadcast on BBC One in four episodes (23 November 2009 to 14 December 2009); *Goldsmiths: But is it Art?* dir. Victoria Silver, first broadcast on BBC Four in two episodes (12 April 2010 to 19 April 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Elena Filipovic, Douglas Fogle, Yukie Kamiya and others, *Creamier: 10 International Curators Select 100 Emerging Artists* (London: Phaidon, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> The first ‘Openings’ was in *Artforum* in May 1991, and was styled as ‘a new series in which writers will be invited to introduce the work of artists at the beginning of their careers’. *Artforum* 29 (May 1991) (p.138).

anachronistic, reflecting instead historic, Romantic notions of artistic creativity. The concept of the emerging artist reconciles this conflict but preserves some of these contradictions.

### Research Context

This research took place within ‘Art School Educated’, a Tate research project on late-twentieth-century art school education in London. These questions of artists’ production and reception at an early-career phase are profoundly relevant to the history of art schools in various ways. First, the circumstantial: this topic reaches across disparate art world entities, and art schools are often threads that connect their protagonists institutionally. For example William Coldstream and Robin Darwin (who loom large in education, in chapter II); Helen Lessore (influential in the discussions of the commercial galleries in chapters III and IV); and Lilian Somerville (an important buyer of young artists’ work described in chapter V) were all contemporaries at the Slade in the late 1920s. Second, the emerging artist has a utilitarian relevance to the art school. The emerging artist is for some an end game of art education, and provides opportunities for considering the art school’s purpose and its success. Looking at the emerging artist offers a means of looking at art education through considering one of its products.

Beyond education history, this account supplements twentieth-century art history by describing major—but frequently unobserved—changes to important art institutions and to the profile of the artist. Kitchen Sink, Pop, Situation and Minimalism are among the many art-historical movements which both bear traces of these shifts and informed them. In addition, because the lens which pulls into focus the historical and institutional depth of this subject is a generational one, the project contributes to studies of the life-cycle. And through addressing patronage both through education and particular public collections, this account describes an illuminating episode in the history of the welfare state. The breadth of this material and the large historical range prevent this from being a comprehensive survey. Rather, the chapters address critical points in this narrative which have been selected for their significance to the question of professionalism and their focus on early-career artists.



## Methodology

For want of a prior literature on young or emerging artists, this research required casting the net wide.<sup>4</sup> The dissertation correspondingly adopts a synthetic approach. It combines the educational, commercial and museological histories that shape its narrative with theory from relevant disciplines, drawing principally from literary criticism, sociology and art history. These are catholic sources, and three approaches were applied. For the more historical sections (such as chapters II and V), the research was predominantly empirical, and focused on discovering, collating and presenting new data on education and collection policies. Remarkably little analysis of the shaping of British collections in this period has been done before. A range of primary material was then considered to examine how these artists had been framed and received at their point of emergence. This was supplemented by extensive use of interviews to determine how artists and other protagonists had themselves begun to historicize the relevant phenomena. Theoretical literature was, in turn, enlisted to illuminate and explain the changes described.

## Literature Review

### (i) Primary Material

I drew upon a wide range of primary sources to establish this history. They ranged from archival material on specific exhibitions, such as the Arts Council's extensive *Young Contemporaries* archives at Blythe House, to archives on collection acquisitions. These comprised papers on specific funds like Tate's Knapping Fund, the Stuyvesant Purchasing Committee and the Gulbenkian Collection, and minutes of committee meetings including Tate Gallery Records and the British Council Fine Arts Committee minutes. I also consulted personal papers of important protagonists: William Coldstream's and Bryan Robertson's particularly, both held at Tate. Other primary material included exhibition catalogues and the contemporary accounts of art magazines and newspapers: *Studio International*, *Motif*, *Art Monthly*, and *Ark*, among many others. I watched contemporary films, both documentary films such as Ken Russell's *Pop Goes the Easel* (1962) and fiction films like Ronald Neame's *The Horse's Mouth* (1958) and Robert Day's *The Rebel* (1961). I gathered data on further and higher education from Statistics of Education reports published by the Department of

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<sup>4</sup> The Phaidon series mentioned above and its precursors, such as Jack Beddington's *Young Artists of Promise* (London: Studio, 1957), have a more promotional than critical character. The only critically engaged book about young or emerging artists accompanied the recent New Museum exhibition *Younger than Jesus*. See *Younger than Jesus: The Generation Book*, ed. by Cornell, Gioni, Hoptman and Sholis (New York NY: New Museum, 2009).

Education and Science, and subsequently the Higher Education Statistical Authority. Slade data came from University College London (hereafter 'U.C.L.'), College Calendars in the U.C.L. Records Office, and data on specific awards were generously provided by the U.C.L. Student Data Services Office. I also consulted Statutes and Policy documents, including various Education Acts and Reports, most especially the Coldstream Reports. I gathered acquisition data from Tate Reports, and for British Council and Arts Council statistics extracted data from collection catalogues at regular 2–3 year intervals before sorting them by the ages of their artist subjects.

(ii) Secondary Material

The principal secondary sources relating to this topic addressed different geographies or periods. Howard Singerman's *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (1999) describes a similar history of professionalization as it unfolded in the U.S.A., offering many useful parallels, while Oskar Bätschmann's *The Artist in the Modern World: the Conflict Between Market and Self-Expression* (1997) addresses analogous issues, albeit with emphasis on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock's *Architecture: Art or Profession? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (1994) surveys the changing educational structure, status and regulation of architecture, offering many illuminating parallels for this research.<sup>5</sup> There is extensive sociological literature on professionalization, the most useful of which was *Professionals and Professionalization* (1970) edited by John Jackson. This furnished the working definition of 'professional' used throughout this dissertation, comprising structural, contextual, activity, educational, ideological and behavioural elements.<sup>6</sup>

Art Education has a substantial literature. Stuart MacDonald's *A Century of Art and Design Education: From Arts and Crafts to Conceptual Art* (2005) and Rafael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd's *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century* (2000) both demonstrate the importance of the social and economic landscape to education, and so were important methodological guides. Within the period itself, a reasonably developed literature about art schools exists. Alex Seago's *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a Postmodern Sensibility* (1995) is a history of the Royal College of Art's student magazine *Ark* and—through a history of

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<sup>5</sup> Full publication details for each item will be referenced in footnotes in the body of the thesis.

<sup>6</sup> G. Harries-Jenkins, 'Professionals in Organizations', in *Professionals and Professionalization: Volume 3, Sociological Studies* ed. by John A. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 51–107 (pp. 58–59). See also Terence J. Johnson, *Professions and Power* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.51: 'professionalism arises where the tensions inherent in the producer-consumer relationship are controlled by means of an institutional framework based upon occupational authority'. This was first published in 1972.

the magazine—gives a textured account of the Royal College, its students, and London in the 1950s and 1960s, with an emphasis on graphic design. Simon Frith and Howard Horne's *Art into Pop* (1987) situates the art school within its contemporary culture. Robert Strand's *A Good Deal of Freedom: Art and Design in the Public Sector of Higher Education, 1960–1982* (1987) provides a detailed account of art school reform in this period, from the view-point of an insider at the Council for National Art Awards ('C.N.A.A.'). Books of collected essays such as David Warren Piper's *Readings in Art and Design Education* volumes (1973), Ken Robinson's *The Arts and Higher Education* (1982), and Dave Rushton and Paul Woods's *Politics of Art Education* (1979), as well as the collected papers of conferences at Wimbledon such as *The Dynamics of Now: Issues in Art Education* (1998), were used extensively. These were supplemented by broader educational histories such as William Stewart's *Higher Education in Postwar Britain* (1989). Histories of the welfare state, such as Janet Minihan's *The Nationalisation of Culture: the Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain* (1977) contribute to the history of education, as do histories of market forces, such as Chin-Tao Wu's remarkable *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Intervention Since the 1980s* (2002).

On the topic of generation, books about youth in the twentieth century include Eisenstadt's *From Generation to Generation* (1956) and David Fowler's *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c.1920–1920* (2008), which describes youth movements before the 1960s and denies them their conventional revolutionary social connotations. Martin Green's *Children of the Sun: A Narrative of Decadence in England after 1918* (1976) similarly documents pre-1960s youth cults. Christopher Booker's *The Neophiliacs* (1970), published at the close of the 1960s, offers a useful wide-angle account of youth culture. Martin Lindauer's *Aging, Creativity, and Art: A Positive Perspective on Late-Life Development* (2003) considers studies of development and offers a sober, empirical rebuttal to many of the presumptions that characterize much literature on youth culture. A body of books on outsider art was also mined, including John Berger's essay *The Primitive and the Professional* (1976), Susan Hiller's selection of essays in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art* (1991), and those collected by Michael Hall and Eugene Metcalf Jr. in *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture* (1994).

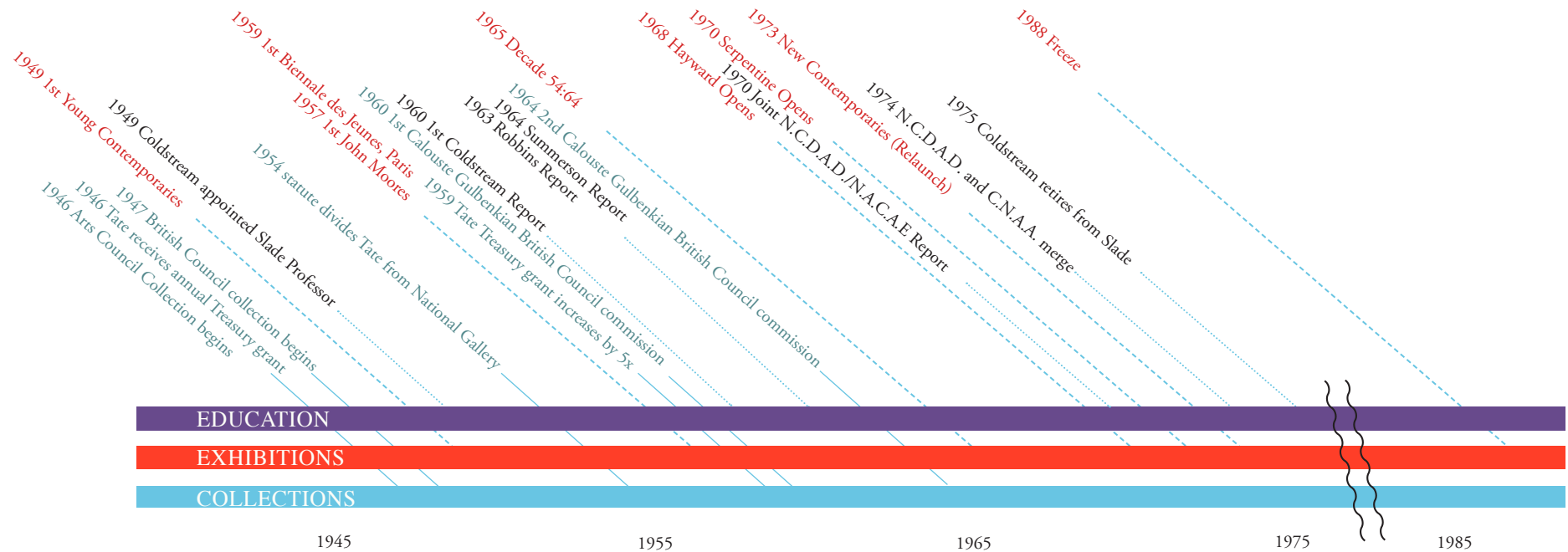
Finally, I consulted various unpublished dissertations and manuscripts. These included Hester Westley's doctoral dissertation, *Traditions and Transitions: St Martin's Sculpture Department, 1960–1979* (2007); Virginia Button's doctoral dissertation, *The Aesthetic of Decline: English Neo-Romanticism, c.1935–1956* (1992); Margaret Garlake's doctoral dissertation *The Relationship Between Institutional Patronage and Abstract Art in Britain c.1945–1956* (1987), and Tim Marlow's master's dissertation, *The Marketing and Impact of New Generation Sculpture* (1988). Unpublished manuscripts on the Slade by Stephen Chaplin and Michael Reynolds

held at the U.C.L. archives were also very informative. As the footnotes will reveal, much use was made of the British Library's oral history resource *Artists' Lives*, which was especially valuable in bringing to life many of the characters who feature in this history.

### Outline

The parallel histories of education, exhibition and collection combined to create the emphasis on young and 'emerging' artists, framed generationally, described in this dissertation. Art schools expanded and professionalized, generational exhibitions became popular, and new forms of public patronage developed for young artists. The causal nexus and chronology of these developments are inevitably complicated. The institutions described share common influences, both socio-political and individual; the impact of William Coldstream and Bryan Robertson, for example, can be seen throughout this project. For clarity's sake, however, the histories have been split institutionally and the chapters roughly follow a chronology. Interpretation is concentrated in chapters I and VI.

MAJOR MOMENTS OF EDUCATION, EXHIBITION  
AND COLLECTION RELEVANT TO THE YOUNG ARTIST, 1945 TO 1988



## I. The Generational Frame

The phenomenon and idea [of the avant-garde] are so present and evident that we do not stop, even momentarily, to wonder if we might be dealing with an illusion or an appearance rather than a reality, with a myth or a superstition rather than a concept.<sup>1</sup>

Renato Poggioli, 1968

Youth is [...] a label—or an army of peons—a stated quantity of ciphers, enregimented or not enregimented.<sup>2</sup>

Wyndham Lewis, 1932

### Introduction

The histories in this dissertation are framed by the notion of generation: the chapters address how various institutional shifts affected young and ‘emerging’ artists, before offering a theoretical analysis of the significance of this grouping. These central notions of generation, youth and emergence are, however, imperfect terms of reference and this chapter qualifies them. It locates the terms, first in a broad art-historical context and then in a more specific context of the 1950s and 1960s. Through a preliminary exploration of the terms, the chapter establishes important caveats about their use. It concludes by drawing distinctions between ‘young’ and ‘emerging’ artists.

Generational categorisation has a rich history: the medievalist Michael Goodich documented a wealth of age schema from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries alone, and mappings of the ‘ages of man’ are numerous [figure 1].<sup>3</sup> They are also of varying complexity. Perhaps the simplest was Thomas Fortescue’s sixteenth-century account which described a lifespan in three phases: an age of growth, an age of stasis, and an age of decline.<sup>4</sup> The uses of ‘generation’ in modern and contemporary artistic discourse broadly indicate a slippage of these corporeal schemas, in which their essentially evolutionary narrative is projected onto the idea of artistic development.

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<sup>1</sup> Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. by Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge MA: Belknap, 1968), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *Doom of Youth* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought 1250–1350* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1989). In the twelfth century, Joachim of Fiore for example modeled history in terms of ages of the father, the son, and of the holy ghost.

<sup>4</sup> John Anthony Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 5.

Later chapters illustrate a heightened generational awareness through emphasis given to youth in London's art scene between the early 1950s and the 1980s. Where previously youth might characterize individual artist prodigies or describe incidental qualities of a movement (such as the Pre-Raphaelites or, immediately preceding this survey, the English Neo-Romantics), here youth became a binding agent in its own right, holding together groups of artists with no associations beyond their shared generation. By the 1964 *New Generation* painting show at the Whitechapel, for example, the art critic David Thompson's prologue admitted the exhibition had 'nothing to do with any artistic grouping, or "movement", or "situation"' but 'only to do with the one thing shared by the twelve painters represented, which is their age-group, or in terms of artistic development, their "generation", the under-30s'.<sup>5</sup>

IMAGE REMOVED PENDING COPYRIGHT CLEARANCE

Figure 1: Examples of The Ages of Man<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> David Thompson, 'Prologue', in *The New Generation: 1964*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel, 1964), p. 7. Thompson was subsequently Director of the I.C.A.

<sup>6</sup> Clockwise from top left: a 1482 anonymous woodcut (British Museum Prints and Drawings 1872,0608.351); an 1830 broadside published by James Catnach (British Museum Prints and Drawings 1992,0125.31); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Add. A. 287, f. 23; and a sixteenth-century engraving by D Voshem, (British Museum Prints and Drawings 1871,1209.972).

## The New Generation

In historical terms, the development of a tendency for artists to be framed in young generations is consistent with a focus on youth across other cultural phenomena. Eric Hobsbawm considered the 1960s to mark ‘profound change’ in inter-generational relationships, but many cultural signs of this transition appear in the 1950s.<sup>7</sup> In 1957 the publisher Tom Maschler edited *Declaration*, a collection of essays by ‘angry young’ contributors, including Doris Lessing, Colin Wilson, Kenneth Tynan, Bill Hopkins, Lindsay Anderson and John Osborne, whose play *Look Back in Anger* had opened the previous year. There were films which told forlorn stories about youth too, first in the U.S.A.—with Marlon Brando and James Dean playing young heroes in *The Wild One* (1953) and *Rebel without a Cause* (1955), respectively—and then in Britain with such films as *Billy Liar* (1963) or *Cathy Come Home* (1966).

Much of this emphasis perhaps reflected a heightened commercial interest in spending by the young. Marketing reports by Mark Abrams titled *The Teenage Consumer* (1959) famously encouraged commerce to redouble its efforts in targeting young spenders.<sup>8</sup> This was a demographic described as ‘The Young Affluents’ in 1963, and a report in the *Tailor and Cutter* trade journal of 1964 observed that ‘for the first time ever, many fashion influences are emanating from the under-25 group’.<sup>9</sup> In 1965, an issue of *Time* magazine was devoted to ‘The American Teenager’,<sup>10</sup> and in 1966 *Newsweek* reported that ‘in the citadel of conspicuous consumption there is no consumer group quite so conspicuous as the teenagers, whom Harvard’s David Riesman has called “consumer trainees”’.<sup>11</sup> In Britain a ‘Minister of Youth’ was created by Harold Wilson in 1968 shortly before the voting age was lowered from twenty to eighteen. Although the post was much derided for its vague

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<sup>7</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1995), p. 324.

<sup>8</sup> David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain c.1920–1970: From Ivory Tower to Global Movement* (London: Macmillan, 2008), p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Alan Little, ‘The Young Affluents’, *The Listener*, 9 May 1963, pp.775–778. Originally a radio broadcast, Little reported there would be 40% more 18-year-olds in 1964 than in the late 1950s, and repeated at p.775 an American market researcher’s view: ‘the special charm of this money is that it is free [...] from all claims except the possessor’s whims’. Nigel Whiteley, ‘Toward a Throw-Away Culture: Consumerism, “Style Obsolescence” and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s’, *Oxford Art Journal*, vol.10 no.2 (1987), 3–27 (p. 20).

<sup>10</sup> Sarah Doris, *Pop Art and the Contest Over American Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 155. The *Time* issue was 29 January 1965.

<sup>11</sup> ‘The Teen-Agers’, *Newsweek*, 21 March 1966, p. 58. quoted in Doris, *Pop Art*, p. 161.



purpose and limited resources, the invention shows that a focus on youth reached governmental activity too.<sup>12</sup>

### The Art School Generation

Art schools contribute to and complicate the framing of artists by generation. As educational institutions, they translate the age regimentation of a school system into professional practice, leading annual intakes through to annual degree shows. There are maximum and minimum ages for admission, the latter increasing from sixteen to eighteen in this period.<sup>13</sup> In this respect art schools merely function as other educational institutions, whose propensity to cement generational identity was suggested by the sociologist James Coleman in 1961. His book, *The Adolescent Society*, saw the school system as instrumental in introverting adolescents into age groups, encouraging them to form their own autonomous societies.<sup>14</sup>

If the art school, via matriculation and degree show, contributes to generational segregation, it also causes interaction among generations, as students encounter their elder artist peers. Jan Verwoert recently emphasized the value of this situation:

[T]he strength of the academy still lies in the fact that it is only here that different generations of artists can coexist, learning from and confronting each other [...]. In the age of the biennials, the generation gap actually seems to have narrowed to two years, as each new show is expected to introduce the next set of freshly emerging artists. This is why the academy has to be preserved as a place where generations are given the space and time to emerge and age at a pace that is not dictated by the speed of the market.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> David Fowler, *Youth Culture*, p. 158. The first was Paymaster General Judith Hart, who was criticized for lack of purpose.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Greenham, in his Keeper's Report for the Royal Academy in 1968, asserted an upper age limit of twenty-five for applicants; see Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy, 1768–1986* (London: Robert Royce, 1986), p. 187. Sheila Paine, *Artists Emerging: Sustaining Expression through Drawing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 11–13 notes the educations of Picasso or Toulouse-Lautrec, who enrolled at art schools in Barcelona and Paris at fourteen and twelve respectively. Immediately before this period art schools had very young students: Camberwell had a junior art school run by the Greater London Council which allocated a day a week for Maths and English, at which Euan Uglow enrolled aged fifteen in the mid 1940s. See Richard Kendall, 'Uglow at Work: The Formative Years', in *Euan Uglow: The Complete Paintings* ed. by Catherine Lampert (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 9–48 (p. 10) and *Euan Uglow: Some Memories of the Painter* ed. by Susan Campbell (London: Browse and Darby, 2003), p. 17. Sandra Blow was fifteen when she began studying at St Martin's in 1940: *Connecting Lines: Artists Talk About Drawing*, ed. by Cathy Courtney, C.D. (London: British Library, 2010)

<sup>14</sup> James Coleman, *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education* (Glencoe IL: Free Press, 1961).

<sup>15</sup> Jan Verwoert, 'School's Out!-?', in *Notes for an Art School*, ed. by Mai Abu ElDahab, Anton Vidokle and Florian Waldvogel (Amsterdam and Nicosia: International Foundation Manifesta, 2006), pp. 56–63 (p. 57). The point

The potential for interaction among artists of different ages, and for slowing the perceived conveyor-belt, qualifies art schools' role in generational emphasis. So does a broader landscape of external influences which might eclipse any segregating effect of art schools. The sociologist Bryan Wilson's diatribe *The Youth Culture and the Universities*, for example, argued at the end of the 1960s that age stratification was caused by a much larger phenomenon—the entertainment industry and mass media:

By taking younger heroes, by disseminating standardized lifestyles for the young, the mass-media have powerfully affected the self-image of adolescents, and their interpretation of their social relationships. An impersonal, abstract conception of the generation has developed of the young as a group apart, identifying in an anonymous way with each other, rather than with the rest of the population.<sup>16</sup>

### Generation as an Art-Historical Tool

I understand how the stranded dinosaurs felt when the hard terrain, which for centuries had demanded from them greater weight and effort, suddenly started to get swampy beneath their feet [...]. One hoped, I suppose, in the end to hand on to someone who saw further, had more talent, more youth, energy, more time before him, to complete what one had started, or relayed from the past. But not this. Perhaps it is the iron curtain between the generations, which one had always heard of but thought to apply only to the past, across which no comparisons are valid.<sup>17</sup>

Keith Vaughan, 1964

In art history and criticism, generation typically describes a 'demographic metabolism',<sup>18</sup> narrating a succession between age cohorts, a process of replacement as new generations of artists succeed one another. The painter Keith Vaughan's comments about handing over to successors, and the 'iron curtain' between generations, exemplify this use of generation at a moment when generational emphasis was rife. Indeed, the observations were prompted by his visit to the 1964 *New Generation* exhibition at the Whitechapel. The transience Vaughan described he marked against the 'hard terrain', something larger and more stable like art-

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was argued before by W. McNeil Lowry, 'The University and the Creative Arts', *Art Journal*, vol.21 no.4 (summer 1962), 233-239 (p. 236). Verwoert has taught at the R.C.A.

<sup>16</sup> Bryan Wilson, *The Youth Culture and the Universities* (London: Faber, 1970), p. 95.

<sup>17</sup> Keith Vaughan, *Journal and Drawings* (London: Alan Ross, 1966), p. 198. Entry for 7 April 1964. Vaughan's diary entries are full of comments about youth.

<sup>18</sup> Norman Ryder, 'The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change', *American Sociological Review* vol.30 no.6 (December 1965), 843-861 (p. 843).

historical precedent. Hence another end of generational discourse is to define by opposition, where generation serves as a narrative aid for a linear history by suggesting cause and effect between sequential movements. Recall the critic John Russell's account of Pop Art: 'Pop was a *resistance* movement [...]. It was *against* the *old*-style museum-man, the *old*-style critic, the *old*-style dealer and the *old*-style collector' (emphasis added).<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the painter Allen Jones described Pop as 'far more a reaction against the formal abstraction of the 1950s—an inevitable swing of the pendulum, a generation thing'.<sup>20</sup> Nor was this merely a retrospective position. In 1964, the year of Vaughan's reflections above, the artists of the Fine Artz Associates argued in the R.C.A. journal *Ark* that: 'The scandal of the great Art Racket is about to break any day now [...] the masses have begun to see through this confidence trick and the new generations [...] are rejecting all claims of the old culture and are producing a new culture of their own'.<sup>21</sup> In 1965, the painter Richard Smith was critical of the previous generation of painters, saying 'I think they have failed us [...] somehow every generation has to make a clean sweep of the criteria of the generation before, and this they failed to do'.<sup>22</sup>

John Minton's attack on work by Robyn Denny and Richard Smith at an R.C.A sketch club in 1956 likewise focused on generation: Minton called theirs the work of 'angry young men'. Smith's and Denny's open letter response stated 'we feel that you have misunderstood because of what you described as your increasing sense of isolation from our generation'.<sup>23</sup> Occasionally this notion of generational opposition finds material form. Ruskin Spear's 1958 painting of the young artist William Green, *A Young Contemporary*, was a pejorative, figurative portrait shown at the Royal Academy while Green's own action paintings were on display at the I.C.A. [figure 2].<sup>24</sup> More recently, the contest played out in exhibitionary form: during the *Younger than Jesus* exhibition at the New Museum in New York in 2008–9

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<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Simon Wilson, *Pop* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), p. 34, cf. Raymond Williams's account of Pop Art, which confirmed 'the pattern of the settlement: old orders and young pseudo-freedoms'. See *Raymond Williams on Television: Selected Writings*, ed. by Alan O'Connor (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 68.

<sup>20</sup> 'Kasmin/Jones: a Dialogue', *Modern Painters* vol.4 no.3 (autumn 1991), 58–59 (p. 58).

<sup>21</sup> Fine Artz Associates in *Ark*, 35 (spring 1964), reprinted in Alex Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a Postmodern Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 207.

<sup>22</sup> Bruce Glaser, 'Three British Artists in New York', *Studio International* (November 1965), p. 179, quoted in Lisa Tickner, "'Export Britain": Pop Art, Mass Culture and the Export Drive', *Art History* (April 2012), 394–419 (p. 402). A similar view was offered in the same year by Martin Friedman in his catalogue essay for *London: The New Scene*, exh. cat. (Minneapolis MN: Walker Art Center, 1965), p. 11: 'the young English artist politely but firmly has repudiated past and present authority figures'.

<sup>23</sup> Robyn Denny and Richard Smith, 'An Open Letter to John Minton / A Stiffie on Whose Easel?', reproduced in David Mellor, *The Sixties Art Scene in London*, exh. cat. (London: Phaidon, 1993), p.28. 'Stiffie' here meant an invitation to an exhibition opening.

<sup>24</sup> The I.C.A. shows *Five Painters* and *Six Young Contemporaries* both featured Green's work in 1958. Tony Hancock's parody of Green in the 1961 film *The Rebel* also arguably had generational connotations.

(showing work by artists born after 1975, in a museum itself created in 1977), the B.L.T. Gallery opened a retaliatory show for artists born before 1926 called *Wiser than God*.<sup>25</sup>

IMAGE REMOVED PENDING COPYRIGHT CLEARANCE

Figure 2: Ruskin Spear, *A Young Contemporary* (c.1958)

Collectively, these sentiments conjure up a kind of generational metronome, in which practices swing back and forth between each generation and the next. But they also carry the suggestion of evolution or linear development, again with rich art-historical precedent. Vasari wrote of painting, sculpture and architecture: ‘the nature of [these arts], like human bodies, have their birth, their growth, their growing old, and their death’.<sup>26</sup> If recourse to Vasari seems anachronistic, the organic simile for progress in art can be found much closer to the period of research, in Herbert Read’s writing.<sup>27</sup> In 1944, Read wrote: ‘the seed that becomes a flowering plant, the metal that crystallizes as it cools and contracts, all such

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<sup>25</sup> In Britain in 2012 an ‘Oldie British Artist’ award is being launched for artists aged over sixty in association with *The Oldie* magazine.

<sup>26</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* trans. by Gaston de Vere (London: Everyman, 1996), p. 46. Vasari’s text was first published in its revised form in 1568.

<sup>27</sup> Indeed, it was now supplemented by Darwinism and an organicist abstract aesthetic. See John Bagnell Bury’s 1909 essay ‘Darwinism and History’ which offers an early critique of the evolutionary model of historical development. In *Selected Essays of J.B. Bury*, ed. by Harold Temperley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 23–42.

processes exhibit laws which are modes of material behaviour'.<sup>28</sup> Through such a lens, generation—when applied to artists—is loaded with an evolutionary sense of the advancement of art history. David Thistlewood wrote of Herbert Read's naturalistic, ecological model in the context of his views on nature: 'Formerly, Read's exemplary artist was one possessing [...] acute sensitivity towards an abstraction deriving its forms from nature. Latterly, his exemplary artist is driven by purposes which may only be termed "evolutionary"'.<sup>29</sup> This preoccupation, reflected in the exhibition programme of the I.C.A. and in the prevailing interest in D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson's book *On Growth and Form* (1917), perhaps anticipates Vaughan's imagery of dinosaurs and the idea of handing over to a younger artist who would 'go further'.

### The Meaning of 'Generation'

Year of birth is prominent in the display of information about artists; the most laconic of gallery labels or artists' biographies will specify when an artist was born. The information is contextual, establishing the author's period as well as name. If context is its purpose or value, the absence of other sociologically positioning data is perhaps noteworthy: sex, class, or income might equally frame an artist. Even within the notion of year cohort, other dates arguably communicate more information than birth: years of graduation or first exhibition, for example. Of all background data, age and generation are—despite being the most common—not necessarily the most illuminating. Age itself also suffers the additional problem of transience and therefore rapid inaccuracy, which was the basis on which both Julian Stallabrass and Matthew Arnatt resisted the term 'young British artist'.<sup>30</sup>

Pierre Bourdieu argued against employing age as a classifying category, denying the meanings typically assumed of this set. 'Age is a biological datum, socially manipulated and manipulable [...] merely talking about "the young" as a social unit, a constituted group, with common interests, relating these interests to a biologically defined age, is in itself an obvious

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<sup>28</sup> Herbert Read, 'Art and Crisis' (1944) in Malcolm Rose, 'Art, Education, and the Means of Redemption', in *Herbert Read Reassessed*, ed. by David Goodway (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), pp. 196–214 (p.202).

<sup>29</sup> David Thistlewood, 'Herbert Read's Organic Aesthetic: II 1950–1968', in *Herbert Read Reassessed*, pp. 233–247 (p. 233).

<sup>30</sup> See Julian Stallabrass, *High Art Lite* (London: Verso, 1999), p. 2: 'the yBas are young only in the same way as the Monkees are young (that is, they are no longer as young as they were, and their youth was only ever for show)'.

manipulation'.<sup>31</sup> The practice confronts difficulties that Marxist analysis confronts; the principal objections are twofold.<sup>32</sup> First, there is the impossibility of shared experience, both in its objective and subjective form; as Wyndham Lewis wrote in his eccentric manifesto on youth published in the mid-1950s, 'Two persons born, on the same day, in the same year, in Aberdeen and Canterbury (this is taking an extreme case, for one might as well say both born within a hundred yards of one another), are only contemporaries in a very limited way'.<sup>33</sup> Second, the assumption of a regular, metred lifespan is flattening; the model is crude unless an artist has a stable and continuous personal and artistic history.<sup>34</sup> Without it, the relevance of age and generation diminishes.

Categorisation by generation has been examined principally by sociologists, and their observations offer useful clarification. Norman Ryder gave the practice modest credentials: an age cohort could legitimately be considered as 'the aggregate of individuals (within some population definition) who experienced the same event within the same time interval'.<sup>35</sup> Age's meaning therefore sharpens when considering periods marked by change and historical events, or when the pool it describes share additional background factors in common. Such singular or catastrophic events (typically, wars or natural disasters) do not feature in the scope of this dissertation. Moreover, the ensuing histories describe a broadening of the social demographic of young artists. This would make experiences within an age grouping more—rather than less—heterogeneous, just as generation's use in artistic discourse was increasing.

Ryder also noted that age can serve as a shorthand for 'the consequences, rewards and penalties of experience; it is an important basis for role allocation in every society'.<sup>36</sup> Shmuel Eisenstadt qualified this role according to degree of specialization: 'In general it may be said that the great emphasis on achievement and specialization limits to a very great extent the

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<sup>31</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 'Youth is Just a Word', *Sociology in Question*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Sage, 1993), pp. 94–102 (p. 95).

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps typified by Gaston Bachelard's assertion that 'the compost does not explain the flower'. See David Maclagan, *Outsider Art: from the Margins to the Marketplace* (London: Reaktion, 2009), p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *The Demon of Progress in the Arts* (London: Methuen, 1955), p. 63.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Settersten and Karl Mayer, 'The Measurement of Age, Age Structure, and the Life Course', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 23 (1997), 233–261 (p. 234).

<sup>35</sup> Norman Ryder, 'The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change', *American Sociological Review* vol.30 no.6 (December 1965), 843–861 (p. 845).

<sup>36</sup> Ryder. p. 846.

importance of age as an explicit criterion of allocation of roles'.<sup>37</sup> So in what Eisenstadt termed 'diffuse' or 'collective' professions, age and seniority were likely to be more important than in highly specialized disciplines. From this broad perspective, a consideration of youth in the art world might illuminate not just the profile or identity of artists but something of the nature of their activity, too.

### The Meaning of 'Young'

If the travelator hasn't really started to move by the time you're thirty-five, it's probably not going to.<sup>38</sup>

Richard Wentworth, 2004

Finally, 'youth' and what counts as 'young' can be defined more easily than generation because the capriciousness of their boundaries are self-evident. With curious consistency, the balance of material encountered during this research clustered around thirty-five as an upper threshold, so in data collation this is the age that has been used.<sup>39</sup> It is arbitrary, but inevitably so.

### Neophobia

Alongside qualifications of 'generation' as a useful mode of definition is a more specific objection to emphasis on the young in particular. In the 1990s Robert Hughes wrote that 'By the mid-eighties, twenty-one-year-old art-history majors would be writing papers on twenty-six-year-old graffitiists'.<sup>40</sup> His concerns echoed those of Clement Greenberg, who had warned in 1947 against the growing influence of art magazines. Greenberg's warning

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<sup>37</sup> Shmuel Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation* (New York NY: Free Press, 1971), p. 225.

<sup>38</sup> *Private Views: Artists Working Today*, ed. by Judith Palmer (London: Serpent's Tail, 2004), p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> e.g. Edward Lucie-Smith, 'The Young Painter and His Public', *The Times*, Tuesday 21 March 1967, p. 10. Thirty-five was the age cap for the Serpentine *Summer Shows* and the Paris *Biennale des Jeunes*. Robin Campell, a director of the Arts Council, used it as the age limit for encouragement in his foreword to *First Show: Post-Diploma Work from Chelsea, Manchester and Birmingham*, exh. cat. (London: Serpentine, 1970). Thirty-three was used as the limit for *Younger than Jesus* exhibition at the New Museum in New York. Note the justifiable objections to this arbitrary cut-off. Eric Newton in 'The Young in Art', *Manchester Guardian*, 10 October 1961 wrote 'one wonders [...] whether the distinction between under and over thirty-five has any significance at all'. Dennis Farr in his review 'John Moores Liverpool Exhibition 3', *Burlington Magazine* vol.104 no.706 (January 1962), p. 30 criticized the 'meaningless division' of being thirty-five or under to qualify for the junior category of the John Moores painting prize.

<sup>40</sup> Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), p. 372.

was made on the basis of age (and sex): the four New York art magazines, he lamented, had copy written by cultural ‘tourists’, who were ‘permanent college girls, male and female’.<sup>41</sup> Greenberg’s charges of immaturity and transience (the ‘tourist’ element above, perhaps also referencing the magazine format) have a moralizing tone which was perhaps expressed most clearly by Margaret Thatcher. Arguing for a return to ‘Victorian values’ in an interview in 1988, she attacked youth culture and the 1960s: ‘Instant gratification became the philosophy of the young and the youth cultists. Speculation replaced dogged hard work’.<sup>42</sup>

The frequency and specificity with which generational grouping is applied to the young but not the middle-aged or the old arguably justifies the weariness of some of these objections. A relatively prosaic explanation can nevertheless be found in the sociological literature:

The age (and cohort) variance of membership in voluntary associations is smaller in youth than later, because small age differences mean more during development [...]. Age becomes progressively less precise as an index of a person’s social characteristics. Individuals experience [with increasing time] asynchronization.<sup>43</sup>

That a group of artists in their twenties can be presumed to have more in common with one another than a group of artists in their seventies may help to account for the emphasis on youth described in chapters III and IV: where there is generational emphasis, it is ostensibly more meaningful the younger the group.

### Young Artists as Emerging Artists

By ‘emergent’ I mean, first, that new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created. But it is exceptionally difficult to distinguish between those which are really elements of some new phase of the dominant culture (and in this sense ‘species-specific’) and those which are substantially alternative or in opposition to it: emergent in the strict sense, rather than merely novel.<sup>44</sup>

Raymond Williams, 1977

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<sup>41</sup> Clement Greenberg, ‘Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture,’ (1947) in Clement Greenberg, *Arrogant Purpose 1945–49: The Collected Essays and Criticism* vol. 2 (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 161.

<sup>42</sup> Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 296 quoting Margaret Thatcher’s interview in the *Daily Mail*, 29 April 1988.

<sup>43</sup> Ryder, pp.855–8.

<sup>44</sup> Raymond Williams ‘Dominant, Residual and Emergent’ reproduced in *Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 979–983 (p. 981).



What ‘emerging artists’ are, and why they loom so large in exhibitions, journalism, criticism, and patronage are substantial questions whose answers span the body of this dissertation. Here the term’s relationship with generation will be mentioned briefly. ‘Emerging artists’ and ‘young artists’ are often employed interchangeably because youth and emergence are overlapping sets. An emerging artist may belong to any age group because this overlap is not complete, but in the majority of cases ‘emerging artist’ and ‘young artist’ are used presuming a relationship between them.

It is also noteworthy that Raymond Williams’s account of emergence echoed the connotations Keith Vaughan gave to age above. Notions of succession are common to both emergence and generation because each is a temporal phenomenon. Each also suggests an oppositional relationship: Williams’s concept of emergence is defined by separation from the dominant culture; Vaughan’s generations are defined by an iron curtain of incomprehension. Like emergence, age describes an unfolding transition—a progression—between states. Unlike emergence, age and generation are temporal facts defined by an event: birth. Emergence describes something more complicated that can only be determined retrospectively, hence the emphasis on hindsight in Raymond Williams’s definition of ‘emergent culture’. In short, what is—strictly speaking, what was—‘emerging’ must be seen backwards, from a future perspective.

One of the first difficulties of the notion of the ‘emerging artist’ is therefore the term’s use. Employing ‘emerging artist’ prospectively conflates the idea with youth, and by modelling emergence as birth lends it an impossible certainty. Emerging artist discourse is nevertheless predominantly characterized by prediction. Alan Bowness’s *The Conditions of Success: How the Modern Artist Rises to Fame* (1989), published the year after he left office as Director of the Tate was one such attempt to outline a methodology for spotting unknown important artists.<sup>45</sup> The book mapped a trajectory for achievement, from peer recognition, through critical success into patronage and dealer interest; the further along this path, the more likely an artist was to achieve long-standing success. But this is not the same as identifying an emerging artist which—as the Williams definition would suggest—can only ever be determined historically.

Their similarities and dissonances noted, it is reasonable to assume that younger artists have more time left to emerge than older ones. If emerging artist discourse is speculative, young artists offer a longer bet. As the critic Adrian Dannatt recently put it:

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<sup>45</sup> Alan Bowness *The Conditions of Success: How the Modern Artist Rises to Fame* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989).

‘And how old is the artist?’ is amongst the first questions asked by collectors pondering the purchase of a new talent, to which the correct answer is always young, very young. Because quite simply the vectors of an artist’s potential success, and thus financial appreciation, can be precisely plotted by how much they have already achieved by a certain age, and the marketability of their fresh jeunesse.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Adrian Dannatt, ‘Dynasty,’ *Studio International*, October 2010, <<http://www.studio-international.co.uk/reports/dynasty-2010.asp>> [accessed 8 August 2012].

## II. William Coldstream and the Professionalization of Art School Education

### Introduction

Art schools featured prominently and early in the history of professionalization of young artists. This chapter asserts that the clearest landmarks of art education, the Coldstream Reports, and consequent art school shifts were part of a broader democratization of further and higher education.<sup>1</sup> Situating the Reports alongside a contemporary flurry of education policy documents reveals their participation in this movement and helps to illuminate their content. Specifically, it will be argued that the Coldstream Reports' utilitarian concern with awards and function—key to their academicizing and professionalizing ends—arose from the growth of public funding and changes to art students' profiles and aspirations. This cultural shift helped to reframe art students: where before they had been students of technique, the developments described below helped art students to assume a new identity as artists in their own right. In this respect, the chapter describes the invention of the art school as the institution is understood today.

Although the convergence of art schools and universities had scarcely begun by the 1960s,<sup>2</sup> the situation of the Slade within University College London ('U.C.L.') was deeply significant for William Coldstream. Coldstream was Slade Professor of Art from 1949 to 1975, and this chapter will demonstrate the imprint of the Slade/U.C.L. relationship on the Coldstream reforms. Statistical information further clarifies educational trends and, by considering art

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<sup>1</sup> Terminology: throughout, 'Report', 'Coldstream Report' and 'First Coldstream Report' refer to the first, 1960 report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education. 'Second Coldstream Report' refers to the second, 1962 report of the National Advisory Council for Art Education concerning vocational courses. 'Reports' or 'Coldstream Reports' refer collectively to these reports plus the following reports: the third, 1964 Report of the National Advisory Council for Art Education (on post-diploma studies in art and design); the 1965 Addendum to the First Coldstream Report (revising Pre-Diploma courses and making the Foundation course); and the 1970 Joint Report of the N.A.C.A.E. and the N.C.D.A.D., titled 'The Structure of Art and Design Education in the Further Education Sector'. 'Summerson Report' refers to the first report of the N.C.D.A.D. of 1964 approving Dip.A.D. course proposals.

<sup>2</sup> Newcastle and Reading universities were the first to offer degree and masters courses in Fine Art. Reading offered a degree in Typography, Leeds offered a degree in Textiles: Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom: Art and Design in the Public Sector of Higher Education 1960–1982* (London: C.N.A.A., 1987), p. 71.

schools alongside universities, demonstrates the parallels of these education histories [appendix 1] and the value of situating art school education within a broader view.<sup>3</sup>

### Background: Higher Education for the Population

The four post-war decades mark a period of significant transformation within higher education in Britain. Change was initially characterized by a virtuous circle of access and increased state dependency: 83% of university funding was public in 1966, compared with 53% in 1946, representing a remarkable growth in actual spending from £7M to £157M per annum,<sup>4</sup> and under Harold Wilson's government for the first time state spending on education exceeded state spending on defence.<sup>5</sup> After implementation of the Anderson Committee's proposals of 1960, the state provided grants for students' fees and maintenance.<sup>6</sup> With public funding, the thorny issue of access deepened: lavish provision for students was possible in part because of the small number of university students and dismal availability of higher education, a scarcity previously revealed by a 1957 U.N.E.S.C.O. survey in which Britain surpassed only Ireland, Turkey and Norway in Europe in its provision of university places per capita. Only 4% of British school-leavers went to university, a quarter of the proportion of American school-leavers.<sup>7</sup> The statistics promised

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<sup>3</sup> Art education indeed lags slightly behind higher education in expansion. See Digby Jacks, 'Art and Design in Comprehensive Higher Education', in *Readings in Art & Design Education 2: After Coldstream*, ed. by D.W. Piper (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973), pp. 77–85 (p. 77): 'art and design education since 1963 (the date of the publication of the Robbins report and the initiation of the Dip.A.D.) has not expanded in the same proportion as has higher education as a whole. In relative terms it has contracted'. This is supported by the new data gathered: Figure 1 shows general undergraduate student numbers tripled between 1955 and 1975 while N.D.D. and Dip.A.D. student numbers merely doubled.

<sup>4</sup> Stefan Muthesius, *The Postwar University: Utopianist Campus and College* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Derek Gillard, *Education in England, A Brief History*  
<<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter06.html>> [accessed 8 August 2012].

<sup>6</sup> The Education Act of 1962 imposed on Local Education Authorities the duty to fund full time students on first degree courses. This developed out of the Education Act of 1944 (the Butler Act) which allowed Local Education Authorities to grant scholarships, exhibitions, bursaries and other allowances for pupils above compulsory schooling age, including for teacher training. By 1950, students with two passes in the Higher School Certificate typically had fees and maintenance paid on a means-tested basis, through a combination of state scholarships, county bursaries from Local Education Authorities and university scholarships: Stevens, *University to Uni*, p. 16. It was not until the Anderson Committee on student finance, which reported three years before the Robbins Report, that fees and support became standardized: Stevens, *University to Uni*, p. 24. Britain was the first country to furnish grants for fees and maintenance: Perkin, p. 451. Funding was not, however, centralized: e.g. the London County Council funded the Central School and St Martin's, but not the Slade or the R.C.A.: see G. S. Sandlands, 'London County Council as Patron of Art: I', *The Studio*, vol.159 no.801 (January 1960), 6–10 (p. 6). It should be noted that throughout this period—and to the present day—The Royal Academy schools offered free tuition.

<sup>7</sup> Patricia Hollis, *Jennie Lee: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 298.

to get yet worse with the prevailing demographic shifts: the ‘bulge’ in post-war births and the ‘trend’ of longer schooling, particularly after the Education Act of 1944.<sup>8</sup> In 1938 only 4% of seventeen-year-olds were still in school.<sup>9</sup> The school leaving age was raised to fifteen in 1947, to sixteen in 1972,<sup>10</sup> and the number of sixth-formers between 1947 and 1958 rose by two thirds;<sup>11</sup> this augured ill for the pressure on higher education unless the sector expanded dramatically.

Aspects of these transformations are likely to have been informed by the Cold War context. The cultural historian Barry Curtis situates the Coldstream reforms in this anxious landscape, reading their professionalizing efforts as ‘a late reaction to Cold War anxieties about the superior technological progress of the Soviet Bloc’.<sup>12</sup> His account can be extended to education broadly, loading the race to better educate with state self-interest. In a period of ideological competition, a society’s superiority could be vindicated symbolically by how well it educated its population; education would, moreover, bring practical benefits to research and development, both activities which were cast under a spotlight by the Cold War.<sup>13</sup>

The pressing need for increased availability of higher education was exacerbated by the new injection of public money and the risk it created that the many might pay for the few. Numerically, the explosion in higher education is astonishing. Robert Hutchison has illustrated the expansion by remarking that the number of universities founded in the UK in nine years between 1961 and 1969—twenty-two—was equal to the number founded between 1249 and 1954 (a period of over seven hundred years).<sup>14</sup> Student numbers

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<sup>8</sup> School population expanded from approximately 5 million in maintained schools in 1945 to almost 9 million in the late 1970s. See Leonard Cantor, ‘Public Sector Higher Education 1945–1986’, in W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education in Postwar Britain* (London: Macmillan 1989), pp. 296–313 (p. 310).

<sup>9</sup> Stevens, *University to Uni*, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Stuart MacDonald, *A Century of Art and Design Education: From Arts and Crafts to Conceptual Art* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2005), p. 225.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry 1850–1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 360. Numerically, this was a rise from 32,000 to 53,000.

<sup>12</sup> Barry Curtis, ‘A Highly Mobile and Plastic Environ’ in *Art and the 60s: This was Tomorrow*, ed. by Chris Stephens and Katherine Stout, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 2004), pp. 47–63 (pp. 57–8).

<sup>13</sup> Note that the Higher Education Committee responsible for producing the Robbins Report was deeply impressed by a visit to Russia in 1962. Susan Howson, *Lionel Robbins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 877.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Hutchison, *The Politics of the Arts Council* (London: Sinclair Browne, 1982), p. 107. The figure appears to be twenty-three. Chronologically, they were: Sussex; Keele; East Anglia; York; Newcastle; Strathclyde; Lancaster; Kent; Essex; Warwick; Loughborough; Aston; Brunel; Surrey; Bath; Bradford; City; Heriot Watt; Salford; Dundee; Stirling; R.C.A.; Cranfield. The statistic is partly a question of nomenclature: many of these institutions had long existed and merely gained university status by Royal Charter in this period. Seven of these are known as Murray Universities after Sir Keith Murray, Chairman of the University Grants Committee.

increased correspondingly: from around 85,000 full-time students in 1950 to 460,000 in 1970.<sup>15</sup> This growth was reflected in full-time art school attendance [appendix 1 and figure 1 below]. The proliferation of art students was significant to the new focus on youth described throughout this dissertation. More art students led to more young artists, setting up a situation in which young artists could crowd out their elder peers. This was the conclusion of analysis made in the mid 1970s by the sociologist Peter Cox, who compared census data from 1911 to 1961. Cox concluded that at ‘normal working ages [...] art is a young man’s affair, in Britain at least [...] the proportion occupied with art falls in middle life. Here there has been a change, because in 1911 the proportion was higher for people aged 50 than it was for people aged 20; since then the reversal has emerged gradually’.<sup>16</sup> What Cox described in so few words was an adjustment to the profile of the British artist across the century, a transition he accounted for in terms of recent growth in art school attendance.

### Public Funding and the Pursuit of Purpose

With profound significance for art schools, public funding and expansion resulted in a reconsideration of higher education’s purpose. The perennial ‘crisis’ in higher education appeared to earn its name in this moment of radical growth and restructured funding. Now that education was funded by the state it became important to rebut charges of indulgence or pointlessness. The expansion of public funding for students heralded a more sociologically planned conception of education for its civic ‘use’ to further the national need.<sup>17</sup> The question of use and value naturally muddled when applied to art education, and art’s peculiar susceptibility to charges of irrelevance makes the art school a bellwether,

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<sup>15</sup> Harold Perkin, *The Rise of the Professional Society: England since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 451. There are many other statistical expressions of this expansion. David Fowler in *Youth Culture in Modern Britain c.1920–1970* (London: Macmillan, 2008) compares the 4% of British eighteen-year-olds who went to university in 1962 with 7% by 1972.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Cox ‘The Artist in Population Statistics’, in *Beyond Aesthetics: Investigations into the Nature of Art*, ed. by Don Brothwell (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), pp. 139–150 (p. 146).

<sup>17</sup> W.A.C. Stewart in *Higher Education in Postwar Britain* at p. 77 points out that the idea of universities’ civic purpose had pre-welfare-state precedent in educational literature such as F. Clarke’s *Education and Social Change* of 1940, and Mannheim’s *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning* of 1951.

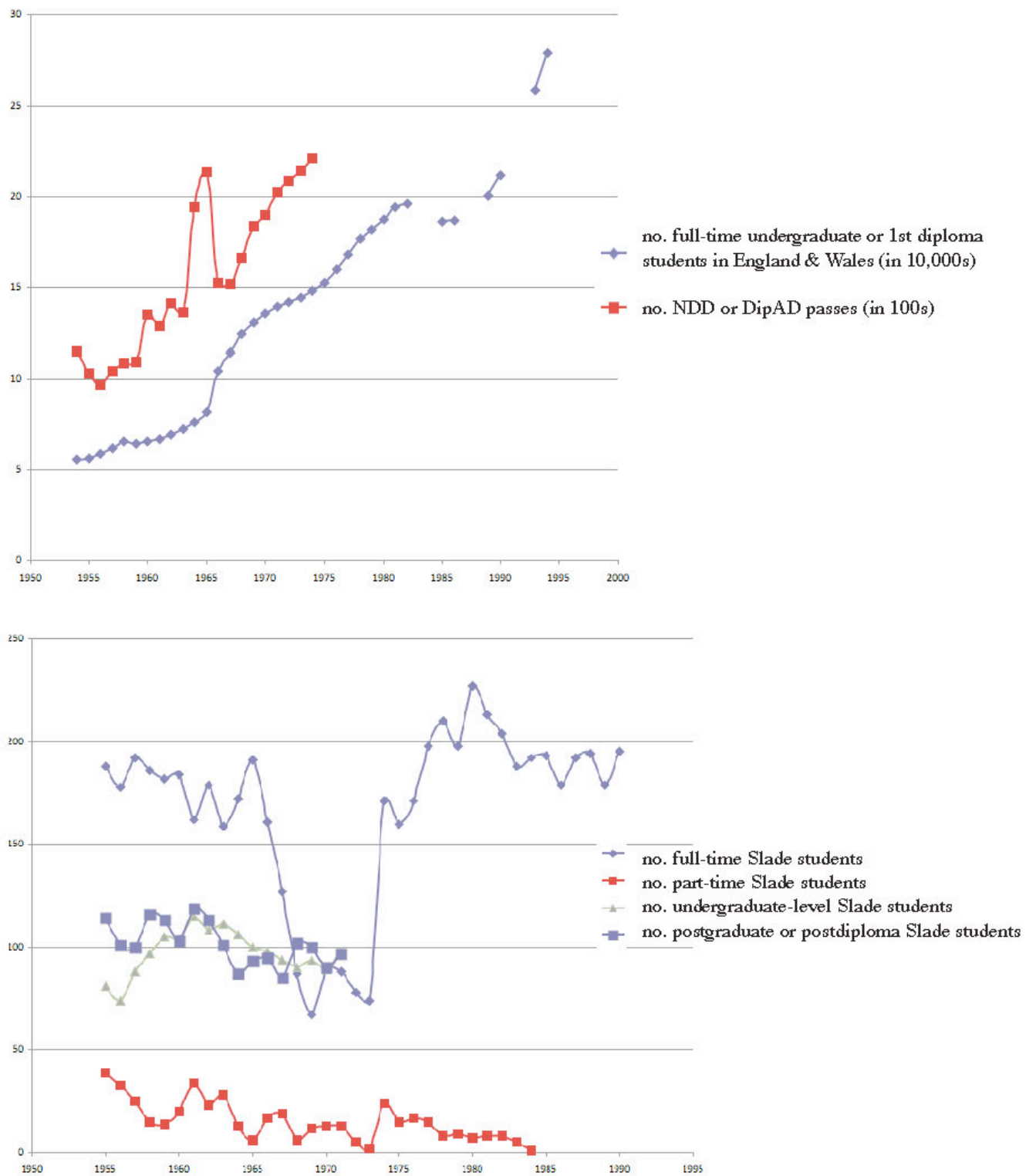


Figure 1: Graphs showing the correlation between art school awards granted and number of students in higher education (top); and student statistics within the Slade School of Art.

anticipating demands and conditions imposed on higher education across other fields.<sup>18</sup> The art historian and critic Norbert Lynton sounded a gloomily prophetic note in 1970 when he reflected that, '[i]n view of the philistinism and unimaginative short-term-mindedness of your average tax-payer and voter, the existence of any sort of publicly-financed art education is a very remarkable thing'.<sup>19</sup> This remarkable state patronage appeared to be given on a condition of professionalization, as detailed below.

A demand for professionalization, moreover, worked both ways: usefulness was not imposed by the state alone, but also came from the new kinds of art students that art schools admitted (or sometimes from their parents).<sup>20</sup> This echoes developments in the U.S.A., where the art historian Howard Singerman has argued that the G.I. Bill played a critical role: '[t]he gender of the veterans coupled with the career demands that they—or their age and gender—were seen to embody insisted, along with the federal government, on the streamlining of art teaching and a professionalization of its goals'.<sup>21</sup> The British ex-servicemen's grants available under the Further Education and Training Scheme did something similar. To quote from art historian Alex Seago's account of the period: '[b]y the early 1950s a huge percentage of art students were ex-servicemen from a very wide range of social backgrounds. Their presence in the art schools radically altered the rather genteel atmosphere and tightly structured curricula which had prevailed in many of these institutions before the war'.<sup>22</sup> These ex-servicemen's grants were implemented to remedy the war's 'severe interruption and distortion of further education and training'<sup>23</sup> and worked as a

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<sup>18</sup> The two likely explanations for this hostility are (i) an enduring perception of art as an elite activity; and (ii) art education's transparency. The public can engage with art school degree shows much more easily than with, for example, history or mathematical degree theses or exam scripts; it follows that art degree achievements are more exposed to criticism than other subjects. See for example David F. Sweet, 'The Shortcomings of Student Art', *Art and Artists*, vol.4 no.1 (April 1969), p. 59: a student exhibition 'provides a window onto the world of art education useful both for those embroiled within it and those who pay for it'.

<sup>19</sup> Norbert Lynton, 'Coldstream 1970' in *Studio International*, vol. 180 no. 927 (November 1970), 167–168 (p. 167).

<sup>20</sup> e.g. John Hilliard interviewed by the author (16 August 2011) said of the Dip.A.D. 'it was my parents who were gratified [by the qualification]'.

<sup>21</sup> Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 128.

<sup>22</sup> Alex Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a Postmodern Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 77. See chapter IV footnote 61 of this dissertation for a brief discussion of the veracity of the art school as socially progressive. Probably it was more heterogenous in class terms than it was progressive ethnically or in terms of gender roles.

<sup>23</sup> War Cabinet meeting minutes of 3 May 1944, National Archives CAB/66/49/39, p. 1. The cabinet anticipated 'substantial demand after the war for persons with higher qualifications [...] nearly all branches of administration, commerce and industry have been deprived of their normal recruitment of persons with higher qualifications during the war'. It recorded that before the war universities' arts faculties had generated 5000 graduates annually, of whom 3200 were men; after 1942 this had dropped to 2000 annually, of whom only 200 were men.



prototype, anticipating the changes state-funded higher education would bring, and acclimatizing the state to a more prolonged role in the provision of education. To use broader education statistics, the proportion of assisted students had been 41.1% in 1938–39 but was 75.7% in 1956–57, a shift which meant that even as students' numbers grew, the absolute number of unassisted students dropped.<sup>24</sup> From the university income perspective, tuition fees had amounted to 29.8% of income in 1938–39 but by 1955–56 represented only 11.2% of income, reflecting a substantial shift towards state dependency.<sup>25</sup> From a student perspective it was equally striking. The artist Norman Adams, who studied at the Royal College of Art from 1948–51, said of his ex-servicemen's grant: 'I had this wonderful grant [and was] so well off. I was much better off as a student than I had been as a farm labourer'.<sup>26</sup>

### Summary: Full Time, Purposive Education

Bernard Meadows, who by 1940 had trained at Norwich, Chelsea and the Royal College of Art, remembered that 'up to the war schools of art tended to be run as sort of spare-time art clubs, never on the basis of anything like a professional training'.<sup>27</sup> His use of the term 'spare-time' in this description is prescient; one of the most pronounced trends in art school education was the migration of student population from part-time and evening classes into full-time day courses (see appendix 1, and figure 1, showing the Slade's diminishing part-time student numbers). David Warren Piper noted that this caused a net drop in numbers from 1959 to 1968: 'The total number of art-college students has dropped by 13 per cent. Over half those students were at evening classes, mostly doing courses leading to no

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<sup>24</sup> Keith Murray, 'The Development of the Universities in Great Britain', in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A (General)* vol.121 no.4 (1958), 391–419 (p. 393). By the time the Anderson Committee was established in 1958, it found that 90% of students were receiving some form of funding, be it state, Local Education Authority or university. Mandatory student grants were therefore recommended partly as a rationalization. See Nicholas Timmins, *The Five Giants: A Biography of the Welfare State* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> Murray, 'The Development of the Universities', pp. 397–8. The treasury grant provided 68.4% of income rather than the 30.9% before.

<sup>26</sup> Norman Adams interviewed by Melanie Roberts (2000–2001), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/111, tape 6 of 17.

<sup>27</sup> Bernard Meadows interviewed by Tamsyn Woolcombe (1992), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording, C466/13, tape 17 of 24.

qualification. These dropped by 37 per cent, part-time day courses by 43 per cent. The number of full-time students has increased by 80 per cent'.<sup>28</sup>

The seriousness implied by this new full-time orientation was reinforced by alterations to purpose that again reflected broader changes to higher education. The Robbins Report, published in 1963, had been commissioned in February 1961 by Harold Macmillan expressly 'to review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain and in the light of national needs and resources to advise Her Majesty's Government on what principles its long-term development should be based'.<sup>29</sup> These national needs called for universities to fashion cultivated generalists capable of adapting flexibly to changing economic demands.<sup>30</sup> This objective had been anticipated by the First Coldstream Report in its amalgamation of art courses into four broad species rather than the multitude of specialist practices that existed within the National Diploma in Design ('N.D.D.'). Its stipulation that '[t]he new system should be based on a relatively small number of grouped courses rather than numerous single subject courses of the kind now accepted for the National Diploma in Design' is therefore in line with the ambitions of the subsequent Robbins Report.<sup>31</sup>

As Coldstream himself later put it: 'uncertainty is the condition that the young artists today have to learn to live with, and that is what we were trying to accommodate'.<sup>32</sup> Agreement with the Coldstream Report was a reason Robbins later gave for his own report's very limited coverage of art education (amounting to three paragraphs, in a report of 837 paragraphs). Robbins told students in a lecture to the Royal College of Art in 1964 that the key elements of Coldstream's report were 'entirely in line with our central conception'.<sup>33</sup> The consistency between Coldstream's and Robbins's reports suggests a policy consensus in the educational landscape, and further supports the use of the Coldstream Reports as bellwethers for attitudes to education more generally.

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<sup>28</sup> David Warren Piper, 'Art and Design Education', in *Studio International*, vol.181 no.933 (May 1971), 194–197 (p. 194). He was reviewing 1959–1968 statistics in 'Student Numbers in Higher Education in England and Wales' in *Statistics of Education Planning Paper No. 2*, 1970.

<sup>29</sup> *The Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961–63*, Cmnd. 2154 (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education*, p. 98.

<sup>31</sup> *First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education* (London: H.M.S.O., 1960) paragraph 9 (vii) / p. 3. Coldstream would paint Robbins's portrait from 1965 to 1967. The two were also both trustees on the National Gallery board in the 1950s, so conversations do not seem improbable. See Susan Howson, *Lionel Robbins*, p. 931.

<sup>32</sup> Jon Thompson, 'Art Education From Coldstream to Q.A.A.', in Jon Thompson, *The Collected Writings of Jon Thompson* (London: Ridinghouse, 2011), pp. 477–88 (p. 482). The essay was originally published in *Critical Quarterly* in 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Lionel Robbins, *The University in the Modern World and Other Papers on Higher Education* (London: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 108–9. The speech was originally delivered to the Royal College of Art on 10 July 1964.

Significantly, the Robbins Report also marked the first time that the university was reviewed alongside other higher education institutions, including colleges for education, colleges of advanced technology and schools of art. No longer was the university to be a 'special kind of institution within the constellation of educational institutions', as Asa Briggs poetically put it.<sup>34</sup> Deliberately so, as among the report's aims and principles was the 'removal of any designations or limitations that cause differentiation between institutions that are performing similar functions'.<sup>35</sup> This aim arguably failed, and the unusual, perhaps irrational, allure of universities clearly endured, with important ramifications for art education.

### The Slade and the University: A Case Study for Academicization and Professionalization

When the Slade Committee received William Coldstream's resignation on 11 March 1975, the meeting minutes recorded that Coldstream 'hoped that his efforts to integrate the Slade as an academic department of the College had been successful'.<sup>36</sup> Accounts of his time at the Slade are peppered with references to this ambition: according to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin—Slade Secretary and Tutor under Coldstream—'Bill had wanted very much to cement the Slade's position within this wonderful institution University College where everything was going on. After all, in previous years at the Slade—for instance under Tonks—Slade staff were virtually forbidden to fraternise or to eat over in the staff refectory'.<sup>37</sup> Coldstream harmonized Slade and U.C.L. term dates, to bring art students' calendars into line with the rest of the university's, and Slade Prospectuses emphasized the school's symbiosis with U.C.L.<sup>38</sup> For instance in 1971–72 it declared that: 'The Slade School works in close collaboration with the Departments of History of Art, Philosophy, and Psychology which provide teaching for the Diploma courses; and students may by arrangement attend lectures and seminars in other departments of the College'.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Asa Briggs 'Development in Higher Education in the United Kingdom. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *Higher Education: Demand and Response*, ed. by W.R. Niblett (London: Tavistock, 1969), pp. 95–116 (p. 105).

<sup>35</sup> The Robbins Report, chapter II [Aims and Principles] paragraph 35.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen Chaplin, 'A Slade School of Fine Art Archive Reader: A Compendium of Documents 1868–1975' (unpublished manuscript, 1998), paragraph 9.33. Chaplin had studied at the Slade between 1952 and 1955.

<sup>37</sup> Ian Tregarthen Jenkin interviewed by Linda Sandino (2002), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/133, tape 5 side B.

<sup>38</sup> *Tribute to William Coldstream on his retirement from the Slade*, Dir. Liz-Ann Bawden, 1975.

<sup>39</sup> Slade Prospectus 1971–72 (London, 1971), p. 14.

In interviews Coldstream had long enthused about this project, arguing in 1962 that ‘art can play a great part in university life’<sup>40</sup> and vice versa. He cited the benefit to Slade students of their attendance at anatomy department lectures, lectures with the notable title ‘Growth and Form’, and Psychology lectures on vision. Coldstream also declined offers of more generous space in other locations to preserve this proximity: ‘all of us at the Slade have always been against that’, he explained, ‘because we very much value being right in the middle of the college’.<sup>41</sup> In short, the dream of the Slade’s founder, Edwin Field, to create an art school run ‘in connexion with a university, with a view to the collateral advantages that such an alliance could afford’ found a zealous proponent in William Coldstream.<sup>42</sup>

These ‘domestic’ Coldstream reforms perhaps have a symbolic character. When more material changes are considered—those measures which in fact drew the Slade closer into U.C.L.—the impetus was external; a matter of response rather than instigation. Principal among these shifts was what might now be called ‘defensive credentialism’ stemming from competitiveness with the Royal College of Art (‘R.C.A.’).<sup>43</sup> Letters Coldstream wrote to the Ministry of Education in 1950, soon after his arrival at the Slade and Robin Darwin’s arrival at the R.C.A., voiced concerns about the perceived relative value of the Slade’s Diploma. His letter of 24 April asked ‘how we may get the University of London Diploma in Fine Art made equivalent in value as a teaching qualification to the A.R.C.A. [the Royal College’s Diploma in Associateship]?’ and suggested ‘the possibility of asking the University to give a B.A. Degree in Fine Art [...]; were such a degree given it would, as you pointed out, automatically confer on the holder graduate status as a teacher’. He commented: ‘I find it difficult to understand how our Diploma should ever have been put at a disadvantage with the A.R.C.A. and can only suppose that this was due to some indifference on our part in the past to formal qualifications’.<sup>44</sup>

As this exchange perhaps indicates, the R.C.A. was simultaneously reforming under similar social and educational pressures. Robin Darwin had been appointed Principal in 1948, and

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<sup>40</sup> Tate Archive: William Coldstream: Transcripts of Coldstream interviews, TGA 8922/10, interview dated November 1962, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> These lectures were delivered by Profs. Barnicot, J.Z. Young and Dr. Jongkheere respectively *ibid* pp. 2–3. See also anonymous, ‘Slade Professor on Teaching and Present-Day Trends in Art’, *The Times*, 8 February 1960, p. 14. where Coldstream had said very similar.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Reynolds, ‘The Story of An Art School 1871–1971’ (unpublished manuscript 1974), p. 346.

<sup>43</sup> A term used by Michael Brock, ‘Did more mean worse?’ *London Review of Books*, vol.8 no. 18 (23 October 1986) 3–5. His example was nursing training in the era of the Robbins report. ‘Organizations were raising their educational requirements, not because of the work concerned, but simply in order to establish their claim to their share of the most capable recruits’.

<sup>44</sup> Slade Archive 1.D.ii.b Sundry Papers. Letter to E. Dickey dated 24 April 1950.

in 1967 described his ‘decision to pursue a policy of rigid specialization in all fields of design, to discard responsibility towards the teaching profession and to provide courses of a thoroughly practical nature in all primary industrial fields’.<sup>45</sup> A 1963 *Studio* article on the school bore witness: ‘Perhaps the most striking and significant change at the outset of the new [Darwin] era was the decision to split up the multipurpose School of Design into a variety of specialist Schools and Departments’.<sup>46</sup> Both Coldstream and Darwin appear to have been wrestling with notions of practicality, the one preoccupied with useful teaching qualifications; the other turning to industry, in keeping with the R.C.A.’s design emphasis.<sup>47</sup> Just as Slade policy reflected Coldstream’s allegiance to the idea of the university, so the R.C.A. manifested Darwin’s vision of specialization. By 1970, when Andrew Brighton arrived at the R.C.A., ‘basically the professorships were fiefdoms’,<sup>48</sup> a status reflected geographically in the separate territories: fine art and graphics in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and sculpture in sheds by Prince’s Gate. Both Coldstream and Darwin, however, shared anxiety that their schools should possess the prestige of universities. Their preoccupation perhaps vindicated the Labour M.P. Anthony Crosland’s famous warning of the perils of a unified higher education system: ‘such a system would be characterized by a continuous rat-race to reach the first or university division [...]. Let us now move away from our snobbish caste-ridden hierarchical obsession with university status’.<sup>49</sup>

Coldstream’s endeavour to integrate the Slade and U.C.L. should also be situated within a broader cultural conversation. Much weight has been attributed to the argument made in 1959 by C.P. Snow against the insulation of the humanities from the sciences and his claim that ‘[t]he division of our culture is making us more obtuse than we need be’.<sup>50</sup> Coldstream was an early advocate of removing the divide, and his idea spread across art schools and universities alike. See the sculpture tutor Peter Kardia’s memorandum to staff at St Martin’s headed ‘Objective studies’, which advocated using various experts in the perception course,

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<sup>45</sup> Stuart MacDonald, *A Century of Art and Design Education*, p. 155, quoting Robin Darwin in the *Times Educational Supplement* of 10 November 1967.

<sup>46</sup> Mervyn Levy ‘The Royal College of Art’, in *The Studio*, vol.165 no.841 (May 1963), 186–195 (p. 187).

<sup>47</sup> Debates regarding engagement with industry featured prominently in the R.C.A.’s history. For example the discord between Richard Guyatt (Rector 1978–81) and Peter de Francia who resisted Guyatt’s emphasis on industry. See Peter Fuller, ‘The Necessity of Art Education’, *Art Monthly*, no.47 (June 1981) 27–29.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew Brighton interviewed by the author, Wednesday 22 September 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Secretary of State for Education and Science, Anthony Crosland’s, speech at Woolwich Polytechnic on 27 April 1965, quoted in W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education in Postwar Britain*, p. 138.

<sup>50</sup> C. P. Snow, ‘The Two Cultures: A Second Look’, in *The Two Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 100. Robert Strand has also drawn this parallel: see Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom*, p. 11.

including a psychologist, a naturalist, a physicist and a philosopher,<sup>51</sup> or Elma and Harry Thubron's vision of open workshops rather than Fine Art departments, which would employ physicists, engineers, musicians, artists, dancers and liberal studies tutors.<sup>52</sup> Considered alongside the University of Sussex's concern, on foundation in 1961, to avoid the word 'department',<sup>53</sup> these examples suggest that Coldstream's emphasis on the Slade's belonging within a university reflected a debate occurring beyond the walls of U.C.L. Although geographically distant, Darwin and Coldstream could perhaps have taken comfort from George Wald, a Harvard biologist, who contributed to a report on Harvard's visual arts in 1956. In an argument that predated C.P. Snow's, he suggested that science involved 'the same interplay of head and hand that goes into the production of a work of art. Just as the scientist has found his place within the university [...] just as the laboratory has become academically respectable, so the artist and the studio, given time and opportunity, should find their places'.<sup>54</sup>

The practical consequence of this debate was a loosening of curriculum as art was allowed to find its own frontiers. In the Slade this can be seen by contrasting the diploma exam description in the 1955–56 Slade prospectus with that in the 1964–65 prospectus. The former required six drawings of the human figure from life, four drawings of a plant or still life from the object, and six other drawings.<sup>55</sup> The latter required simply a portfolio of at least twenty drawings, and either ten paintings, at least two of which had to measure 36 x 28 inches or larger, or ten sculptures.<sup>56</sup> This change was analogous with broadening definitions of departments which accompanied the transition from N.D.D. to Diploma in Art and Design ('Dip.A.D').

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<sup>51</sup> Hester Westley, 'Traditions and Transitions: St Martin's Sculpture Department 1960–1979' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2007), p. 144 citing a document from the uncatalogued Frank Martin archive at Tate. Note that one of the lecturers, Dr. Jonkheere, had been employed for Slade students before, suggesting Martin might have been influenced by Coldstream.

<sup>52</sup> Elma and Harry Thubron, 'Art Through Education', *Studio International*, vol.176 no.902 (July–August 1968), 5–6.

<sup>53</sup> W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education in Postwar Britain*, p. 102.

<sup>54</sup> George Wald's contribution, 'The Artist in the University' in the *Report of the Committee on the Visual Arts at Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1956. Reprinted in Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 47–8 and p. 72. The report is viewable at: <<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/5903727?n=1&imagesize=1200&jp.2Res=.25&printThumbnails=no>> [accessed 8 August 2012].

<sup>55</sup> Slade Prospectus 1955–56 (London, 1955), p. 293.

<sup>56</sup> Slade Prospectus 1964–65 (London, 1964), p. 267.

### Art Education for Art Education's Sake and the Value of Qualifications

Letters from Coldstream to the Ministry of Education in 1950 indicate that the need for attention to be paid to art qualifications was apparent long before the First Coldstream Report. In 1950, reform did not happen, and the reason for stasis appears to have been a concern to preserve the Slade's autonomy. A letter from the art historian H.L. Wellington to Coldstream on 14 November 1949 demonstrated a belief that these objectives were in conflict: 'Leaving [aside] qualifications for the teaching profession (which I suppose we must admit is the chief value of a diploma in the eyes of students, owing to economic conditions) there is the question of genuine advantage or hampering conditions in the training of a professional artist or designer'.<sup>57</sup>

Coldstream evidently valued this freedom above the allure of more prestigious award titles. A letter from the Ministry in May 1950 expressed disappointment that Coldstream was not putting forward a proposal for a B.A. in Fine Art.<sup>58</sup> Coldstream wanted only modified wording of the diploma in order to keep the Ministry of Education at arm's length. He was particularly concerned to avoid making Slade students sit exams set by the Ministry because, as Coldstream explained:

[A]s long as a pass in one of the Ministry's examinations is required as a condition of graduate status for our Diploma, the Slade School is at a disadvantage, compared with almost all the [art] schools in this country, in attracting outstanding students straight from school. Such students will be bound to feel that it is safer to enter first as students at such schools as undertake to prepare them for the examinations of the Ministry of Education [...] It does not seem to me right that a Diploma granted by a University should, in order to count fully as a teaching qualification, be dependent on the student's taking additional examinations set by another teaching authority.<sup>59</sup>

These exchanges demonstrate that a powerful current of practicality rather than ideology could be the genesis of art school change, or (as here) inertia. They also demonstrate two concerns with which the subsequent Coldstream reforms would be heavily imprinted: training teachers and safeguarding independence. The concern with teaching qualifications was crystallized by the Burnham Committee Reports which in the late 1940s had prescribed

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<sup>57</sup> Slade Archive 1.D.ii.b Sundry Papers.

<sup>58</sup> Slade Archive 1.D.ii.b Sundry Papers. Letter from Dalby to Coldstream dated 6 May 1950: 'I am inclined to think that he [the minister, Dickey] will probably be rather disappointed when he sees from your letter that for the time being you are not putting forward the proposal for a B.A. degree in Fine Art'.

<sup>59</sup> Slade Archive 1.D.ii.b Sundry Papers. Letter to E. Dickey dated 24 April 1950.

salaries for teachers in technical colleges, institutes, art schools and schools, distinguishing between graduate and non-graduate pay. The type of qualification art schools awarded their students thus became materially important to those students who might want to teach. Subsequent Slade prospectuses, until the 1965–66 academic year, contained an off-putting disclaimer titled ‘Validity of the University of London Diploma in Fine Art’, which heavily qualified the Slade’s award:

The University of London Diploma in Fine Art, unaccompanied by other qualifications, entitles students at present to be classed as Qualified Teachers under the Regulations for Primary and Secondary Schools 1945. It does not, by itself, qualify teachers for graduate rates of pay.<sup>60</sup>

Beneath all this was a utilitarian presumption which framed the art school as an institution ultimately concerned with teacher training.<sup>61</sup> Whether this view originated among the Slade staff or the students is not clear, but there are indications that it may have come from the latter, lending the narrative a perhaps surprising grass-roots quality. In his 1951 diaries, William Townsend, who taught at both the Slade and Camberwell, recorded being struck after visiting a party of Camberwell students by their different attitude. His reflections suggest a seriousness among Slade students consistent with their desire for qualifications:

At the Slade the students seem to be more consciously gentlemen or more conscientiously students than here, though they can on occasions be jolly enough. I can see them thinking of themselves as art teachers managing their lives sensibly and painting steadily; there is too much business of getting qualifications, or too portentous a realisation of the importance of academic studies, general knowledge, man-of-the-worldliness, and though there are no doubt as many good and serious artists among them there doesn’t seem to be any of the feeling of excitement about the business of painting and general fun of life that I at once notice at Camberwell.<sup>62</sup>

There were of course exceptions: in the same year that Townsend recorded his alarm at Slade students’ precocious seriousness, a student Richard Hamilton was preoccupied with arranging the *Growth and Form* exhibition at the I.C.A. He remembered: ‘I spent so much time working on the exhibition that I didn’t bother even to submit any work for the Diploma at the Slade. That didn’t seem to worry me [...] Nigel Henderson and Paolozzi

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<sup>60</sup> Slade Prospectus 1955–56 (London, 1955), p. 295. Note that this could be remedied by certain Board of Education exams.

<sup>61</sup> It is notable that in this period teaching itself was becoming formally academicized too: a new B.Ed. degree (a degree in teaching) was created in 1963–64 academic year.

<sup>62</sup> William Townsend, *The Townsend Journals: an Artist's Record of his Times, 1928–51*, ed. by Andrew Forge (London: Tate, 1976), p. 94. Entry for 15 March 1951.



hadn't submitted work for the Slade Diploma either so I didn't feel as though I was out on a limb'.<sup>63</sup>

Hamilton's disregard had once been the norm, and these observations by Townsend suggest how much student ambitions had changed since the 1930s. Kenneth Armitage had studied at the Slade in the late 1930s, when Townsend was also a student, and recalled a very anti-pragmatic atmosphere. When he expressed concern that he would not get his diploma, he recalled being struck by the professor's response: 'He [Randolfe Schwabe] said, "What on earth do you want a diploma for?"—now that was the Slade Professor speaking really on rather grand terms; he wasn't thinking of it as a teaching qualification; he was thinking of it as Fine Art, whereas the Royal College of Art—the associate business with the M.A., B.A. and things they have—is very much geared to qualifications when you leave'.<sup>64</sup> Again, a concern for qualified teachers likewise permeated the Robbins Report of 1963, about which a contemporary commentator wrote 'In considering the needs of the country in the present and the immediate future, the highest priority of all, even above the expansion of the universities, is given by Robbins to the supply of teachers'.<sup>65</sup>

The correspondence between Coldstream and the Ministry of Education around 1950 signaled the beginning of a retreat from indifference to qualifications. But signs of the trend can be found elsewhere too, complicating an analysis of its causes and origins. The application form for Artists' International Association ('A.I.A.') membership, for example, changed in 1951 from requiring the applicant to give a '[d]escription of work and qualifications' to a much more exhaustive '[d]escription of work and qualifications, degrees and diplomas, where exhibited, teaching etc'.<sup>66</sup> New preoccupation with qualifications may therefore have been more widespread. The redundancy of qualifications for practising art itself never quite escaped observation either. Victor Burgin studied at the R.C.A. from 1962 to 1965 and later quipped, 'I have a first-class diploma in painting from the Royal College of Art—which means, I suppose, that I am legally entitled to practise painting anywhere in the

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<sup>63</sup> Tate Archive: Institute of Contemporary Arts: Dorothy Morland Collection of Records relating to the history of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, TGA 955/1/14: 1–11, Reminiscences. Interview with Richard Hamilton, p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Kenneth Armitage interviewed by John McEwen and Tamsyn Woolcombe (1991), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/08, tape 6 of 28.

<sup>65</sup> Charles Morris, 'The Robbins Report', *British Journal of Educational Studies* vol.13 no.1 (November 1964), 5–15 (p. 10). A post-war shortage of teachers had been created by raising the school leaving age, and many new teacher-training colleges were set up by the early 1950s.

<sup>66</sup> Tate Archive: Artists International Association, London: Application forms for student members and members of Artists International Association 28 January 1949–29 April 1957, TGA 7043.7.4 and 7043.7.3.98.208.

United Kingdom'.<sup>67</sup> His sentiment was reminiscent of David Hockney's: when threatened with not receiving his R.C.A. Diploma for failure to complete the course's general studies requirement, Hockney responded by etching his own Diploma (figure 2).<sup>68</sup>

IMAGE REMOVED PENDING COPYRIGHT CLEARANCE

Figure 2: David Hockney, *The Diploma* (1962), etching and aquatint

### Anxiety About Purpose: A Longer History

The Slade was a fitting location for a concern with the use and value of an art education, situated as it was within U.C.L., an institution with a Benthamite past. Indeed, U.C.L.'s early

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<sup>67</sup> Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Post Modernity* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 36.

<sup>68</sup> He did in fact complete it, but inadequately: his thesis on Fauvism failed, and the registrar wrote that he would not get his diploma unless he revised it. Hockney recalled: 'When they were going on about diplomas, I thought, "Well, Kasmin isn't asking to see a diploma"'. Interview of May 2010 in Christopher Simon Sykes, *Hockney: A Rake's Progress* (London: Random House, 2011), p. 108. The etching shows Robin Darwin (Principal at the time) wearing medals and tie, holding up Michael Kullman, the head of General studies. In the border are five figures, Hockney and four other failed students bent double under the weight of the frame. Hockney reiterated this position five years later in *Ark*: 'like any diploma it's worth nothing [...] if you actually need the diploma in order to get a job you're not really much good'. David Hockney and Gerald Scarfe, 'The Point is in Actual Fact...', *Ark* 41 (December 1967), 44–48 (p. 44).

involvement with the teaching of architecture—whose professionalization had been similarly contentious<sup>69</sup>—gave this debate about art qualification a hint of déjà vu. Furthermore, William Coldstream’s personal history indicated his sustained engagement with the notion of usefulness and purpose which made him a likely and well-qualified interlocutor. Interviewed by David Sylvester, he recalled having given up painting as too frivolous during the 1930s depression: ‘Like many young artists at that time—and I think today—I had a feeling that perhaps I ought to be doing something which was of more, sort of, social relevance’.<sup>70</sup> Instead he worked for the General Post Office film unit and for the Mass Observation project. Under Coldstream’s leadership, a film course was introduced into the Slade, perhaps an attempt to offset the School’s fine art emphasis with more measurably useful and widely socially engaging skills.<sup>71</sup>

As indicated by its architectural precursor, the debate about whether higher education was a matter of learning or training was unique neither to art nor to this period. Adam Smith was provoked to argue in 1776 that ‘[t]he greater part of what is taught in schools and universities [...] does not seem to be the proper preparation for that business [the real business of the world]’.<sup>72</sup> Friedrich Schiller divorced art from necessity: ‘[a]rt is a daughter of Freedom, and must receive her commission from the needs of spirits, not from the exigency of matter. But today Necessity is master, and bends a degraded humanity beneath its tyrannous yoke’.<sup>73</sup> Notably, the nineteenth-century schools of design functioned under the aegis of the Science and Art department of the Board of Trade, alongside scientific and technical education, and had a history closely entwined with an industrial fair—the 1851 Great Exhibition.<sup>74</sup> Even William Morris appears to have understood the potential for art school to generate and mould sympathetic consumption: ‘it is not and cannot be the proper business of the Schools of Art, as now established in the country, to create professional painters or designers, but to teach people to draw and paint, and to give them information

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<sup>69</sup> Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 50. Architecture’s professionalization also depended on the establishment of R.I.B.A. as a central authority in 1834.

<sup>70</sup> William Coldstream interviewed by David Sylvester (undated), British Library I:2801.

<sup>71</sup> Bruce Laughton, *William Coldstream* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 225 argues that the film department was Coldstream’s personal project. Thorold Dickinson was appointed senior lecturer in film in 1960 and was promoted to full Professor of Film in 1967 (the first in England). In its first appearance in the 1960–61 Slade Prospectus, film is not part of the diploma course.

<sup>72</sup> Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations*, Penn State Electronic Classics <<http://i-ahrens.de/schule/bvw/Wealth-Nations.pdf>> [accessed 10 August 2012], p. 631.

<sup>73</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* trans. by Reginald Snell (New York NY: Frederick Ungar, 1981), p. 26.

<sup>74</sup> W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education in Postwar Britain*, p. 30.

as to the history of the arts, so as thereby to further the genuine taste for and appreciation of Art, the wide-spread feeling of which can alone produce true artists'.<sup>75</sup>

Through the lens of recent history, the association of art schools with industry and commerce can readily appear new and Thatcherite. Reforms of the 1980s perhaps amplified the vigorously economic, philistine conception of higher education: see phenomena such as a National Exhibition Centre exhibition in 1986 of universities celebrating links with industry, with a publication titled *Universities Work for Industry*.<sup>76</sup> Or, similarly, the mantra of *Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge*, a 1987 White Paper which asserted that 'there is an urgent need, in the interests of the nation as a whole and therefore of universities, polytechnics and colleges themselves for higher education to take increasing account of the economic requirements of the country. This aim [...] must be vigorously pursued'.<sup>77</sup> By the time of the Dearing Report in 1997 the understanding of national need had become specific, grimly prosaic, and had shed any civic aspirations. The report identified four roles for universities: to 'be a significant force in the regional economy, support research and consultancy and attract inward investment, provide new employment and meet labour market needs and foster entrepreneurship among students and staff'.<sup>78</sup> The painter Jon Thompson has linked this new understanding of purpose in art education with 'the teaching profession contracting at every level [...] There was nowhere else for graduating art students to go except into the outside world as practitioners'.<sup>79</sup>

The anxiety about purpose was itself far older. As indicated above, it dated from at least the eighteenth century. It also had broader geographic scope. At the beginning of the twentieth century it was re-diagnosed by Thorstein Veblen, who observed American universities imperiled by faith in economics or business, a misguided model 'to which the American schools unavoidably gravitate by force of the community's long-term idealistic impulsion, in

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<sup>75</sup> William Morris, *The Aims of Education in Art, 1887, Calendar of the Municipal School of Art, Manchester* 1911–12 p. 12 quoted in Stuart MacDonald, *A Century of Art and Design Education*, p. 25. Granted, the taste and appreciation here appears to be a route into the creation of better artists.

<sup>76</sup> W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education in Postwar Britain*, p. 248.

<sup>77</sup> W.A.C. Stewart, *Higher Education in Postwar Britain*, p. 248.

<sup>78</sup> Dearing Report, 1997 quoted in Mary Evans, *Killing Thinking: The Death of the Universities* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 22. This role had extended to art schools, as evidenced by Tony Blair's foreword to the R.C.A. prospectus for 1992: 'Like all publicly-funded institutions, the College now depends on a mix of public and private funding [...] in order to make use of all the latest technological developments, the Royal College of Art needs to build on this investment'. R.C.A. prospectus 1992 (London: R.C.A., 1992).

<sup>79</sup> Jon Thompson, *The Collected Writings of Jon Thompson* (London: Ridinghouse, 2011), p. 426.

so far as their drift is not continually corrected and offset by vigilant authorities who, from motives of their own, seek to turn the universities to account in one way and another'.<sup>80</sup>

The long history of this anxiety and its reach into the present merits emphasis here because it is striking that these questions arose even at the most progressive moments of university reform. The Robbins Report—perhaps unsurprisingly, given that Lionel Robbins was himself an economist—made its case for education partly in terms of national investment. It concluded: '[w]hile we are unable to put a figure on the return on this outlay considered as an investment, we are clear that it will be remunerative, both in its absolute effects on the general productivity and adaptability of the internal working of the economy and in helping to maintain our competitive position in the world at large'.<sup>81</sup> Three years on, the University Grants Committee Annual Survey of 1965–66 described an aim of higher education as 'to assist [...] the preparation and execution of such plans for development of the universities as may from time to time be required in order to ensure that they are fully adequate to national needs'.<sup>82</sup>

If a historical distinction can be made, it is perhaps merely that by the 1980s 'national need' had assumed a narrower meaning and become synonymous with immediate contribution to economic growth, and that by this point education was beginning to be reframed as private accessory rather than public good. What this research demonstrates, however, is the higher education backdrop and state appetite for broader civic purpose against which the Coldstream report was written. Jocelyn Stevens—Rector and Vice Provost of the Royal College of Art from 1984 to 1992—described 'an art school tradition in this country, which I'm quite opposed to, of encouraging students to stare at the sky and dream for two years'.<sup>83</sup> Given the climate of opinion indicated by the Coldstream Report, it is unlikely that this was true even by the late 1950s.

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<sup>80</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (New York NY: Augustus Kelley, 1965), p. 44. First published in 1918.

<sup>81</sup> *The Robbins Report*, Chapter XIX, Conclusion, paragraph 29.

<sup>82</sup> *University Grants Committee Annual Survey of 1965–66*, Cmnd. 3192 (London: H.M.S.O., 1966), p. 12, paragraph 26 headed 'National Manpower Needs'. See also Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry 1850–1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 363 referring to D.R.O. Thomas, 'Universities and the Future Pattern of Higher Education' at the Home Universities conference of 1963.

<sup>83</sup> John Preston 'Big Jocelyn, Little Willie', *Evening Standard Magazine* (February 1988) (p. 34).

### The Coldstream Report and the Autonomy of the Art School

The Slade's relationship with U.C.L. offers a valuable interpretative aid to the First Coldstream Report, especially when considered alongside the wider shifts in higher education towards measurable use inspired by the need to justify public funding. Although the influence of Coldstream himself has been questioned,<sup>84</sup> there is much evidence of his authorship in the Report, many of its policies having already been applied domestically within the Slade. One recognizable Coldstream shibboleth was the Report's exception for Dip.A.D. admission for students lacking suitable O or A-levels.<sup>85</sup> When the B.A. degree was later introduced in the Slade in 1974, at the very end of Coldstream's term there, it too had a caveat preserving the possibility of admission for students without O or A-levels.<sup>86</sup>

More significantly, by voicing concerns for protecting autonomy the Coldstream Report echoed the content of Coldstream's letters to the Ministry of Education ten years before. One of the most controversial elements of the Report was its attempt to ring-fence art schools. Coldstream's biographer later summarized: for 'the first time in the history of government-funded art schools, each individual school would be able to set its own curriculum and its own examinations, which would nevertheless have to be up to a national standard'.<sup>87</sup> Where the N.D.D. had been prescriptive and centrally examined, the Dip.A.D. curriculum (in those institutions which could be trusted to run a Dip.A.D.) was fundamentally vague,<sup>88</sup> ostensibly self-directed and had its own independent validating body. To this extent it sought exactly the sort of autonomy Coldstream had pursued at the Slade.

Yet Coldstream's agency is complicated by similar agendas originating elsewhere. The 1957 National Advisory Committee on Art Education ('N.A.C.A.E.') report that prompted

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<sup>84</sup> Lynda Morris argued that 'In terms of art education the Coldstream Report is only understandable if one calls it the Pasmore Report'. See Lynda Morris, 'Art Schools in Post War Britain', *Generations Apart*, exh. cat., (Sheffield: Mappin Art Gallery, 1986) pp. 17–27 (p. 21).

<sup>85</sup> *First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education* (London: H.M.S.O., 1960), paragraph 8 /p. 3: 'students of outstanding artistic promise who are capable of taking a diploma course but have not obtained the proposed minimum educational qualification should be eligible for admission and should, if successful, be awarded the diploma'.

<sup>86</sup> See Stephen Chaplin, 'A Slade School of Fine Art Archive Reader'. Paragraph 9.32 details the Slade committee minutes of 18 March 1974 in which Coldstream introduced the need for degree scheme in fine arts with caveat of special dispensation for students without O or A-levels.

<sup>87</sup> Bruce Laughton, *William Coldstream*, p. 203.

<sup>88</sup> Perhaps most famously in paragraph 26 of the Second Coldstream Report: 'We believe that studies in fine art derive from an attitude which may be expressed in many ways'. Or similarly paragraph 149: 'The intrinsic value of what is learned and the way in which it is learned is fundamental in judging all forms of education. The criteria employed in such a judgment usually reflect the personal benefits and satisfactions which students can expect to derive from their education'.

formation of Coldstream's council had already advocated autonomy, suggesting: 'A number of art schools are, in our view, well able to bear responsibility for planning courses and examining students with a minimum amount of outside control. We believe that, with greater freedom, these schools would increasingly develop their own characteristics and make a more distinctive contribution to art education'.<sup>89</sup> When added to the establishment of the year-long foundation course, which rerouted students away from the General Certificate of Education (the pre-university norm, now the A-level), the Report simultaneously distanced the art school from both secondary education and oversight by external further education institutions, setting art education apart, in its own biosphere. In 1964, a panel of artists and educationalists found this combination 'a strongly isolationist approach to the problems of art and design education which had the effect of separating it from the mainstream of higher education and, more importantly perhaps, from the changing needs of secondary education'.<sup>90</sup>

'Autonomy' here merits qualification: the prescription of more academic content in the form of art history and complementary studies might suggest the art school's convergence with the university, rather than divergence from it. Equally, Robert Strand, a member of the Council for National Academic Awards ('C.N.A.A.'), has emphasized that this was a 'relative' independence, constrained both by higher education policy over which the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design ('N.C.D.A.D.') had no control and by the allocation of resources within colleges.<sup>91</sup> In general, however, the move towards independence represented an effort to create more of a self-governing body. The new Dip.A.D. was overseen by the N.C.D.A.D., which at first zealously exercised exclusionary control over the diploma.<sup>92</sup> Standard-setting and exclusion are functions typically associated with professional bodies, and the pursuit of autonomy is significant for the professionalizing consequences of the Coldstream reforms.

Certain accidental consequences of the Coldstream reforms also leaned towards professionalization. The first was the unforeseen phenomenon of the N.C.D.A.D.'s

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<sup>89</sup> Ministry of Education National Advisory Committee on Art Examinations, *Report on Proposed Changes in the Art Examinations and in the Length of the Diploma Course* (London: H.M.S.O., 1957), paragraph 2 / p. 7. As an N.A.C.A.E. report Coldstream was a member, however its Chair was F. L. Freeman.

<sup>90</sup> Jon Thompson, David Bethel, Christopher Frayling and others, 'Art & Design' in *The Arts and Higher Education*, ed. by Ken Robinson (Guildford: Society for Research into Higher Education, 1982), pp. 143–155 (p. 146).

<sup>91</sup> Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom*, p. 43. Independence was officially conferred on the Summerson Council by Trust of Deed in 1961. The C.N.A.A. was formed in 1964 and operated until 1992.

<sup>92</sup> Bruce Laughton, *William Coldstream*, p. 242. The N.C.D.A.D. approved only 61 courses in 29 colleges in its first report, the Summerson Report of 1964, having scrutinized 201 courses in 72 colleges.

approval of more fine art courses than courses in graphic design, 3D design or textiles and fashion, and the consequent abundance of students less vocationally useful than had been hoped. The art historian Stuart MacDonald has pointed out that by the 1969–70 academic year, the 2,987 students studying for fine art Dip.A.D.s represented almost twice the number studying under graphic design, and over twice the number studying under either 3D design or textiles/fashion.<sup>93</sup> This was particularly true of demand for post-Diploma courses: in 1968 there were 205 applicants for thirty-eight post-Diploma places in fine art compared with twenty for thirty places in graphic design, ten for thirty-seven places in industrial design, eight for fifteen places in interior design, twenty for eight places in textiles, and one for ten places in fashion.<sup>94</sup> Pevsner had long before inveighed against the preponderance of fine art in art schools, holding that: '[i]t is wrong, sociologically and morally wrong, to base the organization of art schools on provision for future painters and sculptors'.<sup>95</sup> The Coldstream reforms made this imbalance more pronounced, despite setting out to promote employment-friendly courses, and despite expressly aiming to match numbers to employment prospects. To this extent a professionalizing ambition failed.

The second accidental consequence of the Coldstream reforms—here professionalizing in a specific sense—was implicit in the demise of the centralized N.D.D. assessment. By removing an apparatus which had enabled work to be evaluated centrally, away from the art school in which it had been made,<sup>96</sup> the Coldstream reforms eroded objective anonymity and opened a door to greater emphasis on display in assessment. When work had been sent away for N.D.D. grading, its display could not be controlled. Under the Dip.A.D. the norm appears to have been display of work within the art school, where external examiners would visit the display to make their assessment. The exhibitionary tendencies described in the following two chapters had manifested themselves in shows like the *Young Contemporaries* since 1949; the Coldstream reforms' effects arguably amplified these tendencies further within art schools.

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<sup>93</sup> Stuart MacDonald, 'Articidal Tendencies', in *Histories of Art & Design Education from Cole to Coldstream*, ed. by David Thistlewood (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 14–22 (p. 20). MacDonald's essay was originally published in 1973.

<sup>94</sup> Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom*, p. 80.

<sup>95</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 219.

<sup>96</sup> For the N.D.D. there was a preliminary internal assessment, but the decisions were made away by appointed Ministry assessors. See John Vernon Lord, 'Post War Curriculum and Assessment Development', <<http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/faculty-of-arts-brighton/alumni-and-associates/the-history-of-arts-education-in-brighton/post-war-curriculum-and-assessment-coldstream-summerson-art-history-and-complementary-studies>> [accessed 8 August 2012].



### Professionalizing via Academicizing

In his diary entry for 12 March 1948, William Townsend wrote of the tension between William Coldstream and Victor Pasmore: 'Bill always argues that Victor's best painting is done when he is trying to represent something that he has in front of him, and tries hard to save him from intoxication with aesthetic theories and the wiles of the self-styled or approved "moderns". In the same way Victor deplores the academic tendencies and caution in Bill'.<sup>97</sup> Although the authorship of the Coldstream Report remains unclear, these two by then very dissimilar artists appear to have been its principal architects. As such, Townsend's portrait of their relationship is telling because it indicates some of the conflicts within the Report.

The provision for theoretical and academic interest in the prescription of art history and complementary studies, despite representing a relatively meager 15% of the diploma, has been a focus of much of the criticism subsequently aimed at the Report.<sup>98</sup> Reading the measure at its most ideological, allocating 15% of the Dip.A.D. to art history and complementary studies constituted a partial erosion of the historical distinction between theory and practice, particularly when accompanied by the recommendation requiring applicants to have O-Levels in 'what would normally be recognised as academic subjects'.<sup>99</sup> As Antonio Gramsci had previously articulated, this dichotomy between the classical and the vocational is loaded with social meaning.<sup>100</sup> The effort to professionalize art education—to give it academic value, generalist potential and to arm it with useful qualifications—probably began with a democratizing motive given Coldstream's history of social engagement and his comments elsewhere.<sup>101</sup> The use of academic art history had also been

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<sup>97</sup> William Townsend, *The Townsend Journals*, p. 77. Entry for 12 March 1948.

<sup>98</sup> Note Pevsner's 'Note of Dissent' in the 1970 joint report, pp. 48–49 (p. 48). 'I regard the fifteen per cent as a dire necessity, provided they are looked at as intellectual disciplines. It is clarity of thought and expression, it is unbiased recognition of problems, it is the capacity for discussion and it is ultimately understanding they must achieve'. It does not appear to have been taken up; only Wimbledon later allowed students to commit 40% of their degree to art history or complementary studies (see anon., *Wimbledon School of Art 1890–1990* (London: Penderall Press, 1990), p. 27.

<sup>99</sup> *First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education* (London: H.M.S.O., 1960), paragraph 6 / p. 2.

<sup>100</sup> 'The fundamental division into classical and vocational (professional) schools was a rational formula: the vocational school for the instrumental classes, the classical school for the dominant classes and intellectuals'. Antonio Gramsci 'On Education', in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 26–43 (p. 26). The prison notebooks were written in the early 1930s.

<sup>101</sup> Evidenced by his G.P.O. film work and his involvement in Mass Observation, drawing closer the link between art and society. In 1938 Coldstream had described how the economic slump 'made me aware of social problems, and I became convinced that art ought to be directed to a wider public'. See William Coldstream, 'Painting', in *Art in England*, ed. by R.S. Lambert (London: Pelican, 1938), pp. 99–104 (p. 102).

tried out by Coldstream at the Slade before, following his appointment of Rudolf Wittkower as Durning Lawrence Professor of Art History in 1949.<sup>102</sup>

Yet this aspect of the Coldstream Reforms somehow elicited deep hostility, and was interpreted as an academic encroachment. The film critic Raymond Durgnat, who taught at the R.C.A., characterized it at the time as an act of middle-class missionary zeal, a colonialist appropriation that attacked the art school's alternative values: 'The art school cuts across the grain of an educational system whose principal aim is to separate the middle from the working-classes on the basis of ability to verbalise in accordance with the middle-class ethos'.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, at Hornsey the Dip.A.D. was likened to the Norman invasion.<sup>104</sup> Arguably, however, it was by encouraging such heterogeneity that the 15% academic element added value. Andrew Brighton made the case for the merits of a dissonant academic perspective:

The value of a complementary studies teacher could be precisely his ignorance of the esoteric shibboleths of the art world. He could make students aware of their answerability to criteria outside those of the professional community.<sup>105</sup>

Perhaps as remarkable as the depth of hostility the 15% elicited was the offence it caused across a spectrum of artists, progressive and conservative. Looking back, the painter Ruskin Spear, who taught at the R.C.A. for over twenty-five years until 1975, called the process 'the Great Purge of the Art Schools. Art Education was to take over, with its 'O' levels, 'A' levels and Art Examinations. Students were dragooned into emulating the latest art styles. They were force-fed; made to 'read all about it'; to know through reading books—painting itself became almost a secondary activity. It was assumed that if you read about it you could do it automatically'.<sup>106</sup> The sculptor Reg Butler quickly perceived a risk of the qualification becoming fetishized at the cost of more laudable goals. In 1961 he saw the diploma as presenting 'an avoidable risk. It may so very readily become a moral objective, a kind of *good*, substituting its own values for those of art, and in this respect may have a considerable

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<sup>102</sup> Michael Reynolds, 'The Story of An Art School', at p. 358 points out that Wittkower gave lectures only on a Friday afternoon.

<sup>103</sup> Raymond Durgnat, 'Art Schools: The Continuing Malaise', *Art & Artists*, vol.4 no.7 (October 1969), 6–8 (p. 6).

<sup>104</sup> Margaret Garlake, 'Infrastructures: Formation and Networks 1950–75', in *Sculpture in Twentieth Century Britain, Volume I: Identity, Infrastructures, Aesthetics, Display, Reception*, ed. by Penelope Curtis (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2003), pp. 155–166 (pp. 161–2).

<sup>105</sup> *R.C.A. Papers No.1 Theoretical Studies and Art Education, proceedings of a seminar at R.C.A., 9 December 1976*, ed. by Christopher Cornford (London: Royal College of Art, 1977). Prepared statement by Andrew Brighton, p. 8.

<sup>106</sup> Andrew Brighton, 'Since '62: The last Twenty-Five Years', in *Exhibition Road: Painters at the Royal College of Art*, ed. by Paul Huxley (London: Phaidon, 1988), pp. 55–65 (p. 57).

delaying effect upon an otherwise creative student [...]. I am sure diplomas are very largely created to comfort Treasury departments, local authorities, and the whole world of those who fear that public money may be misspent'.<sup>107</sup> In a very similar vein Peter Greenham, Keeper of the Royal Academy Schools for twenty years from 1964, later concluded: 'it seems to me a pity that art schools should have been pushed into thinking that they acquire virtue by taking these terms from universities, which have nothing to do with art'.<sup>108</sup>

These views seem prophetic given the tail-wagging-dog tendency that concern with qualifications could cause, suggested both by the gradual progression towards more elevated award nomenclature and the receding horizon of the final degree. But Butler's and Greenham's criticisms arguably ignored the merits of providing a general education, and the value of bolstering students' prospects of employment. A fundamentally emancipatory facet of education therefore appears to be overlooked. Richard Hamilton defended the academic qualification of fine art with laconic pragmatism: asked by Victor Willing in 1966 whether the degree was 'a way of making art education acceptable to the grants authorities', he responded that in granting an art degree at Newcastle University 'What we are saying is that a person has attended a four-year course, taken learning about art fairly seriously, and has managed to do this without getting into any difficulty in respect to social behaviour which has upset the university authorities. I suppose students have a right to a statement to this effect'.<sup>109</sup> Perhaps the most profound criticism came from the Art & Language duo Terry Atkinson and Michael Baldwin, who moved the debate further upstream by questioning the very premises on which usefulness was assumed:

The N.C.D.A.D. are asking the art schools to be utilitarian/liberal and not just useful, and this distinction gets messed-up because the base of their means of constituting objects remains at a coarse ontological level—given a simplistic and dogmatic view of the 'objects' of art it only remains then to prescribe not how such objects can be produced but also what they can be produced for.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Reg Butler, *Creative Development: Five Lectures to Art Students, Given at the Slade School in June 1961* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 12.

<sup>108</sup> See Sidney C Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy*, p. 215.

<sup>109</sup> Richard Hamilton interviewed by Victor Willing, 'What Kind of Art Education?', *Studio International*, vol.172 no.881 (September 1966), 131–133 (p. 132).

<sup>110</sup> Terry Atkinson and Michael Baldwin, 'Art Teaching', *Art-Language*, vol.1 no.4 (November 1971), 25–49 (p. 27). At this level of abstraction, however, it is debatable whether any form of education would be immune to a charge of indoctrination and normalization.

An equally troubling issue with the prescription of the academic components was that it implied a lack of intellectual content in other art school activities: if it had to be allotted its own space, there was a risk that it might be presumed absent from art practice itself. As Robert Strand later argued: '[i]t was easy to infer from this that this was the element which alone supplied the intellectual rigor—and thus the academic respectability—of degree level courses in art and design'.<sup>111</sup> The provision therefore contributed to an unhelpful distancing of making from theory and art history, risking fragmentation and rivalry. According to Strand again:

smarting under this implication of the academic inferiority of their activity, some studio staff sought to compete with their academic colleagues by introducing elements of a pseudo-intellectual nature, which failed to meet any true criteria, either aesthetic, philosophical or historical.<sup>112</sup>

However clumsy the implementation of this 15%, chronology suggests that responsibility for academicizing and liberalizing art education should not rest solely with Coldstream. *Help for the Arts*, a 1959 report funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, had already suggested that:

Many of the arts schools in the country exist to teach fine art subjects and various branches of design related to industry and commerce; and when pupils enter them, as some do now, having left school at fifteen, they are given little or no general education. The Minister of Education has accepted an important recommendation that new courses leading to the National Diploma should last three years and that entrants to these advanced courses should have obtained a satisfactory standard in general education as well as having provided evidence of their ability in art before they are admitted.<sup>113</sup>

Paradoxically, perhaps the necessity of the 15% was in fact created by the pre-Dip. (soon to become 'Foundation') course. Had art schools capitalized on the trend of longer school education and taken students from A-levels, this contentious 15% might have been unnecessary, as students would already have received a more rounded education before entering the art school.

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<sup>111</sup> Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom*, p. 216.

<sup>112</sup> Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom*, p. 216.

<sup>113</sup> *Help for the Arts: A Report of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, ed. by Lord Bridges, Noel Annan, Sir George Barnes and the Countess of Albermarle (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1959), pp. 45–6, paragraph 110.

### The Metamorphosis of Art School Awards

The formal academicizing of art school education through this requirement of art history and theory was accompanied by the gradual academicizing of art school awards as they converged with university degrees, from N.D.D. via Dip.A.D. to B.A. As emphasized above, the Coldstream Report merely marked a moment in this transition, rather than an origin or an ending. Here the Slade can again serve as a case study. Coldstream's biographer has pointed out that the Slade quickly modified its own diploma in the wake of the Dip.A.D.'s introduction elsewhere by extending to a four-year course in 1962.<sup>114</sup> This implies an award arms race: such escalation had been rehearsed before between the R.C.A. and the Slade, but would now translate on a larger scale into level of qualification.<sup>115</sup>

As well as extending its Slade Diploma, the Slade formalized its postgraduate level courses. William Townsend, Ian Tregarthen Jenkin, Sam Carter, Adrian Forge and Patrick George have been credited with the formation of the two-year post-graduate diploma introduced in 1966, before which selected students could merely stay on for an informal postgraduate year.<sup>116</sup> Higher degrees would lag somewhat behind in their absorption within U.C.L. The Slade archive contains letters from Ian Tregarthen Jenkin advocating a Slade M.Phil. and Ph.D., but the university administration responded with a firm suggestion that M.A.s would better accommodate 'unusual examining procedures at this level'.<sup>117</sup> At the Slade, Higher Diplomas continued to be awarded until 1992, when it was indeed an M.A. that took their place.

A major landmark in the synthesis of art school and university nomenclature occurred in 1977 when the first Slade B.A. in fine art was awarded. Beyond semantics and symbolism, this award represented the amalgamation in 1974 of the N.C.D.A.D. with the C.N.A.A., a

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<sup>114</sup> Laughton, *William Coldstream*, p. 224. The only counter-example is the Royal Academy, which had reduced its period of study from five years to four in 1954. See Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy*, p. 173.

<sup>115</sup> The art historian Stewart Martin recently described qualification as 'the receding horizon; its promise of maturity takes the form of infantilisation'. See 'An Aesthetic Education against Aesthetic Education', in *Curating and the Educational Turn*, ed. by Paul O'Neill and Mick Wilson (London: Open Editions, 2010), pp. 108–117 (p. 111).

<sup>116</sup> Bruce Laughton, *William Coldstream*, p. 221 and p. 224. Curiously, the Slade's postgraduate emphasis remained unchanged: in student numbers postgraduates continued to either outnumber or match undergraduates (see Figure 1 and Appendix 1). See also Michael Reynolds, 'The Story of An Art School', p. 369: 'in 1973 the Slade had a total of 184 students, of whom 119 were postgraduates and 65 were undergraduates'. The 1983–85 prospectus stated that '[t]he Slade is unique in being the only school in fine art in Great Britain which includes undergraduate and postgraduate groups of approximately equal size' Slade Prospectus 1983–85 (London, 1983), p. 8.

<sup>117</sup> Slade Archive 1.D.i.c Planning Papers, Letter from L.M. Smith (Senior Assistant (arts), University of London) to Ian Tregarthen Jenkin dated 13 February 1975.

degree awarding body. It also sounded an end to the independence Coldstream had been so keen to establish for art schools: from 1974, audit and quality assessment happened alongside other subjects within the C.N.A.A., a role subsequently taken up by the Higher Education Quality Council.<sup>118</sup>

Paradoxically, then, Coldstream's initial rejection of a fine art B.A. seems to have been justified: having refused the B.A. for fear of Ministry of Education exams being imposed on his students, Coldstream would have been unlikely to accept governance by the C.N.A.A. The compensation for this diminished autonomy was the status afforded by a degree. With the establishment of the fine art degree proper, art education secured the proud university connotations it had long coveted. Art had formally become an academic subject like other university subjects, potentially aiding and encouraging the interdisciplinary dialogue that Coldstream had so keenly pursued. As Patrick George had argued to the U.C.L. registrar, in advocating the B.A. on behalf of the Slade's Board of Studies in Fine Art: 'fine art is an academic discipline in its own right'. Slade students had studied at U.C.L. and the degree was now 'the accepted nomenclature both nationally and internationally' for fine art awards. A fine art B.A., he contended, 'would encourage within University College the development of inter-disciplinary links between the Department of Fine Art and other departments currently offering degree courses, and [...] greater mutual understanding and interest would result'.<sup>119</sup>

### An Art School Career

In keeping with the utilitarian vision of art schools as creators of art educators, the growth in art schools helped to establish education as a substantial system of patronage for artists in the U.K. This had been a recommendation of the 1959 Gulbenkian report, *Help for the Arts*, which suggested: 'At very little additional cost universities could provide valuable encouragement to artists by employing them on short-term contracts [...]. Perhaps a university is as good a place for an artist to live as a garret or an ivory tower'.<sup>120</sup> Almost

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<sup>118</sup> Colin Painter, 'Introduction', in *Artists in the 1990s: Their Education and Values. Papers Submitted at Conferences Held at the Tate Gallery in 1991 and 1992*, ed. by Paul Hetherington (London: Wimbledon/Tate, 1994), pp. 11–18 (p. 11).

<sup>119</sup> Slade Archive 1.D.i.c Planning Papers (IET-J/LEG), Letter from Patrick George on behalf of Board of Studies in Fine Art to Mr A.J.L. Cahill (Registrar of U.C.L. 1954–78) dated 15 May.

<sup>120</sup> *Help for the Arts: A Report to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, ed. by Lord Bridges, Noel Annan, Sir George Barnes and the Countess of Albermarle (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1959), p. 46 paragraph 111. This is interesting not least because it does not identify the university with the ivory tower.

twenty years later, in a 1976 follow-up to *Help for the Arts* this position endured. The report's conclusion, that '[t]he long-term future of artists is in the hands of educators', envisaged similar patronage albeit with a slightly more ambivalent tone.<sup>121</sup>

Coldstream's concern with awards in the wake of the Burnham Committee's reports indicates that schools and art schools were important destinations for graduates by the 1950s, and the Coldstream Reports were perhaps Keynesian in their vision of growing this demand. This was most manifest in relation to the art history component, which was expressly intended to 'create a new demand and thus promote supply' of art historians.<sup>122</sup> But it can also be seen in the Summerson report, which acknowledged that 'it must be accepted that many who receive an education in painting and sculpture will later make their career in teaching or other occupations which may allow them to continue practising as artists'. The council had reviewed the evidence and found that in 1969 31% of Dip.A.D. students had entered teaching or were pursuing the Art Teacher's Diploma, and that within the fine art subset this figure rose to a very substantial 42%.<sup>123</sup>

### Artist Teachers

In 1964 the editor of *Studio International* asked: 'Are all artists today doomed to be teachers?'.<sup>124</sup> The answer seems to have been: yes. The sculptor Glynn Williams recalled that when he graduated in the same year 'it was possible to get a part-time teaching job in almost any art school. There was almost an unspoken form of state sponsorship for the young artist'. His explanation of the symbiosis between teaching and practice describes the demand for a new type of professional artist-educator: 'the pre-requisite, that applicants must practise, accompanied every advertised teaching post. To be allowed to run these new courses, art schools had to be vetted. This was done by specialist teams that were heavily weighted with practitioners'. This was a situation in which the young artist was professionalized by absorption within academia, and in which 'the practitioner—and more

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<sup>121</sup> *Support for the Arts*, ed. by Lord Redcliffe-Maud (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976), p. 51.

<sup>122</sup> *First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education* (London: H.M.S.O., 1960), paragraph 25 / p. 8.

<sup>123</sup> *The Structure of Art and Design Education in the Further Education Sector* (Joint Report of the N.A.C.A.E. and the N.C.D.A.D.) (London: H.M.S.O., 1970), p. 46 paragraphs 161 and 145.

<sup>124</sup> G.S. Whittet, 'London Commentary: Part-time Successes and Posthumous Fame', *Studio International*, vol.167 no.854 (June 1964) (p. 264).

often, the younger practitioner—was a dominant presence in art education’.<sup>125</sup> The set-up perhaps came close to an alternative form of patronage envisaged by Feliks Topolski, which he set out in ‘The Citizen Artist’, a 1954 paper for the Arts and Amenities Group of the Labour Party. Analysis by Katherine Aspinall frames Topolski’s vision as one in which the artist-as-civil-servant would become a new iteration of the court artist. Topolski’s aim was to diminish the role of the market, which he felt cowed artists into adopting current movements, a concern which will be revisited in the following chapter.<sup>126</sup>

The 1970 report found that ‘[i]n the final analysis the quality of an educational system depends greatly on the quality of its teachers. The appointment of practising artists and designers to the staff of art colleges ensures that a high degree of art and design expertise is brought into the studios’.<sup>127</sup> Emphasis on the quality of teachers reflected pedagogic change. Richard Hamilton observed the relative complexity of teaching a basic design course: ‘the quality of teaching must be higher than that needed for the still life or antique room. Basic form studies are lamentably unrewarding for the student’.<sup>128</sup> The increased significance of the teacher where a vaguer curriculum operates was such that Robin Darwin later suggested accrediting teachers rather than institutions, in some ways bringing art education full circle and describing something akin to a studio/atelier model of study. Darwin wrote: ‘I quite seriously suggest that what we should do is not to approve centres for the fine arts to which members of staff would come and go, but to license practicing artists to teach painting and sculpture in such centres as they might propose’.<sup>129</sup>

The necessity for a professionalized artist-educator also derived partly from a need to guard against intervention. A respected artist was considered more likely to be given license to teach creatively than an unestablished one, so could bolster an art school’s autonomy. This had been William Johnstone’s strategy in the 1940s; in 1966 he reiterated in a letter to *Studio International*: ‘my own experience, when I had to deal with all these problems—and more—

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<sup>125</sup> Glynn Williams, in *The Artist as Teacher: Transcript of a One-Day Conference Held in the Auditorium of the Tate Gallery, Millbank on 1 February 1991* (London: Wimbledon/Tate, 1991), p. 10. The manuscript is kept in the Tate Library, class mark 7:378.9 ART(REF).

<sup>126</sup> Katherine Aspinall, ‘Court Artist of the Welfare State: Feliks Topolski, the Cavalcade of the Commonwealth and the Citizen Artist’ (unpublished master’s thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2009), p. 42.

<sup>127</sup> 1970 Joint Report of the N.A.C.A.E. and the N.C.D.A.D., ‘The Structure of Art and Design Education in the Further Education Sector’, p. 45, paragraph 156.

<sup>128</sup> Maurice de Sausmarez, Richard Hamilton, William Turnbull and Robert Brazil, ‘A Visual Grammar of Form’, *Motif 8* (Winter, 1961), 3–29 (p. 17). This section was contributed by Richard Hamilton.

<sup>129</sup> Letter from Robin Darwin to the Summerson Council meeting of 17 December 1964 (sent in lieu of attendance due to illness) reprinted in Robert Strand, *A Good Deal of Freedom*, p. 74. This particular suggestion was made in the context of discussions on post-Diploma studies.



as Principal at Camberwell in 1938 and at the Central in 1947 was to employ real live artists to teach. By their practice they solved formal problems which still seem to defeat the committees'.<sup>130</sup> His approach was widespread. Coldstream and Darwin had done the same: a post-war drive for recruiting artists with reputations such as Rodrigo Moynihan, John Minton, Robert Buhler and Ruskin Spear occurred across the Slade, the R.C.A. and the Central school. Chelsea, too, recruited known artists, including Henry Moore, Graham Sutherland, Jack Smith, Edward Middleditch and Elizabeth Frink.<sup>131</sup>

The Coldstream system therefore, in addition to establishing the independent N.C.D.A.D., encouraged a complementary bias for practising, professionalized educators who, by bringing their status to courses, could dampen bureaucratic interventionism. The strategy may have served the autonomy of art education, but it was not without costs. Jon Thompson acknowledged the importance of teaching as a mode of state patronage of the arts, but suggested that it could harm teacher and student alike: 'it could be argued that it does as much damage to the artist as it does to the educational system'.<sup>132</sup> Peter de Francia less charitably (and perhaps with a hint of self-deprecation) likened artists in the university to the famous rhinoceros in the King of Portugal's zoo, an ostentatious, exotic creature sent by the ruler of Gujarat for no conceivable use.<sup>133</sup> When relationships between art and society were more actively debated in the 1970s, Lynda Morris saw the system of art school patronage as a major obstacle to art's engagement with the broader world, responsible for a solipsistic community of socially disengaged artists. 'It is important', she argued, 'to rechannel the work of students and young painters away from the incestuous art education spiral towards a role within society'.<sup>134</sup> Her complaint was taken up by Peter Fuller, but it

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<sup>130</sup> Letter from William Johnstone (ex principal of Camberwell and Central) in 'Letters', *Studio International*, vol.172 no.883 (November 1966) (167). This was remembered slightly differently by one of his staff, Carel Weight: 'There was [at Camberwell] a madman named Mr Johnstone who I think made a great reputation by getting as many well-known young artists on his staff because he was more interested really in the advertisements of the school than he was in the actual running of the place'. Carel Weight interviewed by Cathy Courtney (1991–92), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/07, tape 25 of 47.

<sup>131</sup> Letter from John Russell and Nevile Wallis opposing the amalgamation of Chelsea with the Regent Street Polytechnic, 'Art Schools', *The Times*, Thursday 16 January 1958, p. 11.

<sup>132</sup> Jon Thompson 'Campus Camp', in *Artists in the 1990s: Their Education and Values. Papers Submitted at Conferences Held at the Tate Gallery in 1991 and 1992*, ed. by Paul Hetherington (London: Wimbledon/Tate, 1994), pp. 52–59 (p. 52).

<sup>133</sup> Peter de Francia's lecture 'Mandarins and Luddites' as recalled by Andrew Brighton in *Creative Scholars: Research Economies in Art and Design*, Tate Britain 8 December 2008. <<http://itunes.apple.com/us/itunes-u/symposia-2008/id497715043>> [accessed 9 August 2012].

<sup>134</sup> Lynda Morris "'Art, Art Education, Education" Three Titles for a Discussion of Fine Art Education' (unpublished master's thesis, Royal College of Art, 1973), p. 87.

also resonated with Meyer Schapiro's earlier criticisms of the imagery of the artists' studio in painting.<sup>135</sup>

### The Reaction: Pedagogy Against the University

It is a curious historical fact that the administrative and titular drift of art schools into universities coincided with a pedagogic shift in the opposite direction. Despite—or possibly because of—the prescription of art history and complementary studies and the academicizing potential of this stipulation, the prevailing mood in many schools seems to have become in the same period fundamentally anti-Enlightenment. Just as the Coldstream Report advocated formally putting something on the slate, educators started to espouse the virtues of a clean slate. Alan Davie expressed the latter view succinctly in 1959 in an I.C.A. exhibition dedicated to his view, *The Developing Process: Work in Progress Towards a New Foundation of Art Teaching as Developed at the Department of Fine Art, King's College, Durham University and at Leeds College of Art*.<sup>136</sup> Davie wrote:

It is difficult to rid oneself of false concepts of Art based upon knowledge and cleverness, and no teacher-student relationship can be satisfactory if it is one between a superior (knowing) and an inferior (ignorant). One must learn to have faith in the intuition which 'knows' without knowledge [...]. I always encourage the use of irrational or crazy ideas, and the result of intuitive action will always be distinct and positive.<sup>137</sup>

Richard Hamilton similarly emphasized the importance of starting anew and argued in *Studio International* in 1966 that 'the first aim of our course is a clearing of the slate, removing preconceptions. People come to art school with ready-made ideas of what art is. We have to do some erasure'.<sup>138</sup> Another advocate of this approach was Victor Pasmore. The painter Rita Donagh, a first-year student of his in 1956, recalled: 'Victor was doing this extraordinary session once a week when he just tried to make you forget everything you had

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<sup>135</sup> See Peter Fuller, 'The Necessity of Art Education' op. cit. At p. 27 Fuller contrasted the specialist artist model with Bali as an example of an 'aesthetically healthy' society in which art was integrated with daily life, not 'the preserve of a few individuals of imagination and "genius", a special breed set apart'. Fuller had argued this at an I.C.A. debate in 1978 too. See 'Special Issue Transcript of I.C.A. Debate "The State of British Art" of 10–12 February 1978', *Studio International* vol.194 no.989 (1978), p. 79: 'Fine Art professionals find that they have been given every freedom except for the only one that matters, the freedom to act socially'. Cf. Meyer Schapiro, 'The Social Bases of Art' (1936).

<sup>136</sup> The exhibition focused on Thubron, Pasmore and Davie.

<sup>137</sup> Alan Davie in *The Developing Process*, exh. cat. (London: I.C.A., 1959), p. 23.

<sup>138</sup> Richard Hamilton in Victor Willing, 'What Kind of Art Education,' *Studio International*, vol.172 no.881 (September 1966), 131–9 (p. 132).

ever learned about art and start from the beginning'.<sup>139</sup> This position endures, its popularity suggested by the prevalence of Rancière's *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* within art schools.<sup>140</sup> Yet the principal exponents of the blank slate ultimately grew familiar with its limitations. When interviewed in 2000, Alan Davie said:

My art comes out of a general movement of the time towards an ambition to liberate oneself, to set oneself free from clichés, conventions [...] for all this talk about new directions and discovering new things all of them ended up doing the same thing and they all got into terrible mannerisms and just kept repeating themselves. I soon found there's no future in being completely free; there's so much you cannot do through pure intuition or pure freedom.<sup>141</sup>

And just as prescribing art history and theory risked implying the absence of intellectual rigor from more practical art practice, emphasis on intuition risked fragmenting learning into two artificially conflicting parts. As Maurice de Sausmarez suggested in 1956, this sort of discourse amounted to an 'arbitrary splitting of consciousness into intuition and intellect as though they were mutually exclusive instead of inseparable'.<sup>142</sup>

### The Self-Taught Art School Student

In their recollections of art school, former students exhibit a conspicuous tendency to deny having been taught—or to advance narratives of self-teaching instead. In *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Nikolaus Pevsner listed artists who were contemptuous of their training in Academies. They included Ruskin, Whistler, Clausen, Feuerbach, Liebermann, Le Corbusier and Cézanne.<sup>143</sup> Recall, too, Vollard's account of Cézanne's contempt for the academic: 'Whenever the word 'professor' was uttered, Cézanne would fly into a rage'.<sup>144</sup>

Art schools in the mid twentieth century elicited similar wariness. Marc Vaux said of the Slade, where he studied from 1957 to 1960, 'I didn't get any instruction at all, so in a way,

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<sup>139</sup> Victor Pasmore, ed. by Alastair Grieve (London: Tate, 2010), p. 92.

<sup>140</sup> 'I must teach you that I have nothing to teach you', Jacques Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* trans. by Kristin Ross (Palo Alto CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 15.

<sup>141</sup> Alan Davie interviewed by Melanie Roberts (2000), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/108, tape 6 of 9.

<sup>142</sup> Maurice de Sausmarez at the 1956 Bretton Hall conference. In Richard Yeomans, 'Basic Design and the Pedagogy of Richard Hamilton', in *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays*, ed. by Mervyn Romans (Bristol: Intellect, 2005), pp. 195–210 (p. 195).

<sup>143</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 239.

<sup>144</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *The Demon of Progress in the Arts*, p. 44 quoting Vollard's account.

apart from art history and apart from some very pleasant conversations I had with Ceri Richards in the printmaking section, and occasional chats with Keith Vaughan, I was largely self-taught at the Slade'.<sup>145</sup> Patrick Caulfield replied to the question of who taught him at the R.C.A. (between 1960 and 1963): 'You felt that nobody was teaching you much in the first year—you had to do a lot of life drawing and life painting'.<sup>146</sup> Malcolm Morley remembered of the R.C.A. shortly before, in 1955–57: 'Although the teaching was traditional, it didn't lead to a lot of learning; the atmosphere was informed by pubs, scooters and late-night parties [...]. The teachers would go to a pub, and learning consisted of how much you could drink'.<sup>147</sup> Even Ron Kitaj, a distinctly scholarly artist, chose to self-style as self-taught; an article in the *Times* reported that 'Kitaj describes himself as "autodidact and pseudo-scholarly"'.<sup>148</sup> This emphasis on freedom to self-teach has the potential to invert the idea of education completely. It leads a situation in which, as Robyn Denny succinctly put it: 'The best art schools are the worst'.<sup>149</sup>

If art students deny having been taught, teachers show similar propensity to accept that art cannot be taught. Stuart MacDonald has remarked on and historicized the peculiar self-effacement it represents. For MacDonald, it amounted to part of a larger 'articial tendency, the death wish, the desire for the demise of the artefact, even of art itself'.<sup>150</sup> The position is a disservice to the art school because it diminishes its value. In an article titled 'Art Education and Success' published a year after MacDonald's argument, Clive Ashwin empirically vindicated the value of art school. He wrote: '[a] belief frequently encountered within the art educational community or society is the ironically self-effacing one that art education has little or no connection with success as an artist'.<sup>151</sup> He challenged this assumption through statistical analysis of three exhibitions: *Recent British Painting* at the Tate;

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<sup>145</sup> Marc Vaux interviewed by Cathy Courtney (1996–2003), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/85, tape 2 of 76.

<sup>146</sup> Patrick Caulfield interviewed by Andrew Lambirth (1996–97), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/64, tape 6 of 14.

<sup>147</sup> Jean-Claude Lebensztejn, *Malcolm Morley: Itineraries* trans. by Lucy McNair (London: Reaktion, 2001), p. 17.

<sup>148</sup> Anonymous, 'The State of the Artist', *The Times*, Monday 23 May 1983, p. 13.

<sup>149</sup> Quoted by Bryan Robertson in John Russell and Bryan Robertson, *Private View* (London: Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1965), p. 137. Derek Boshier has said similar, although he makes allowances for good art schools. Interviewed by Hester Westley on 3 February 2010 he said 'I always used to think good art came out of two types of art schools: very good art schools or very bad'.

<sup>150</sup> Stuart MacDonald, 'Articial Tendencies', in *Readings in Art & Design Education 2: After Coldstream*, ed. by D.W. Piper (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973), pp. 89–99 (p. 90). This argument coincided with Charles Madge and Barbara Weinberger's *Art Students Observed* (London: Faber, 1973) which recorded widespread accord (within the art school) with the view that art could not be taught.

<sup>151</sup> Clive Ashwin, 'Art Education and Success', *Studio International*, vol.180 no.971 (November 1974), 181–82 (p. 181).

*British Sculptors '72* at the R.A.; and *The New Art* at the Hayward. His study showed that the paradigmatically successful artists exhibiting in these exhibitions had spent on average 4.8 years in full-time education in art school.<sup>152</sup> This examination of recognized art and its producers' educational profiles suggested a correlation between training and success and, therefore, the efficacy of art schools.

Beyond the potential harm to art schools' reputations of denying their effectiveness, denying that art can be taught is loaded with determinism. Margaret Boden has argued that a model built around the notion of 'innate gift' rather than education offers a peculiarly negative romanticism; it 'has a defeatist air, for it implies that the most we can do to encourage creativity is to identify people with this special talent, and give them "room" to work'.<sup>153</sup>

### The Blank Slate

The notion of the blank slate was as unoriginal as the discourse of freedom. Earlier twentieth-century precedents include Wallace Stevens's 1942 poem 'Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction': 'You must become an ignorant man again / And see the sun again with an ignorant eye',<sup>154</sup> or Baudelaire's definition of genius as 'nothing more nor less than childhood recovered at will'.<sup>155</sup> In visual art, the position had been staked by Paul Klee: 'I want to be as though new-born, knowing absolutely nothing about Europe, ignoring poets and fashions, to be almost primitive'.<sup>156</sup> Joe Tilson, who trained at St Martin's and the R.C.A., wrote of his fondness for quoting a passage from Nietzsche's *The Wanderer and his Shadow*:

There are no educators. As a thinker, one should speak only of self-education. The education of youth by others is either an experiment, conducted on one as yet unknown and

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<sup>152</sup> Ashwin, 'Art Education and Success', p. 182.

<sup>153</sup> Margaret A. Boden, 'Creativity and Computers', in *Harold Cohen*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 1983), pp. 12–18 (p. 13).

<sup>154</sup> Wallace Stevens, 'Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction', quoted by William Tucker in *Towards Another Picture*, ed. by Andrew Brighton and Lynda Morris (Nottingham: Midland Group, 1977), p. 185. Originally Tucker was writing in *Studio International* in 1974.

<sup>155</sup> Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. by Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 2008), p. 8.

<sup>156</sup> In Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (New York: Vintage, 1967), p. 199. This was first published in 1938.

unknowable, or a leveling on principle, to make the new character, whatever it may be, conform to the habits and customs that prevail.<sup>157</sup>

The absorption of this credo within institutions for education, however, was perhaps a new development in Britain in the 1960s. A previously clean fault line between the institution and the rebellious student (precised by Pevsner above) dissolved via the Bauhaus through its emphasis on process and discovery rather than learning facts and norms. The institution could then assume the position of resistance to learning which had previously been the prerogative of the student.<sup>158</sup> The vagueness of the Dip.A.D. prescriptions in the Coldstream Reports arguably served to facilitate this absorption, a connection that has been made by Andrew Brighton:

Now art school training taught an ideology, a fine art attitude. Having washed their student's mind the art school staff could inscribe their 'concepts', [...] on the empty slate and evaluate a student's work according to whether it showed 'process' and 'developmental association'.<sup>159</sup>

Among the defenders of a more conventional Enlightenment didacticism was the painter Michael Ayrton, who in 1959 suggested promotion of the blank slate was historically anomalous and lamented what he saw as a new artistic 'limbo of "anti-intellect"'.<sup>160</sup> Terry Atkinson and Michael Baldwin were critical because they saw in the new pedagogy an imprint of the market:

The emphasis among avuncular educators is that the artist (student) is a paradigm of someone who is 'his own property'. This is suggested by the ludicrous notion of 'personal' direction. The market determinations of 'freedom' are equally marked in [the] context of art.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup>Nietzsche 'The Wanderer and his shadow' (1880), quoted by Joe Tilson (ex R.C.A. and St Martins) in 'Letters', *Studio International*, vol.172 no.883 (November 1966), p. 167.

<sup>158</sup> See Marcel Francisocono's *Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of its Founding Years* (Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 180. Francisocono associates Itten with Montessori revisionism re child education and the idea of bringing out inherent gifts. Again, resistance to conventional learning and teaching suggests an internalized conception of creativity and the self-expression paradigm.

<sup>159</sup> Andrew Brighton, 'Ill-Education Through Art', in *Aspects: A Journal of Contemporary Art*, ed. by Colin and Anne Painter no.18 (spring 1982) 6–8. See his criticism of the I.C.A.'s *A Continuing Process* at p. 7. For Peter Fuller, it was a presumption for which 'All art is assumed to aspire to the condition of infantilism'. Peter Fuller, 'Art Education; Some Observations' *ibid.* 12-14. Recall too that the blank slate as originally conceived had a more actively productive aim: to rebuild all knowledge on a sounder basis, rather than to simply erase it. See John Weightman, *The Concept of the Avant-Garde: Explorations in Modernism* (LaSalle IL: Library Press, 1974), p. 17.

<sup>160</sup> Michael Ayrton, 'Art v Intellect', in *Encounter*, vol.12 (August 1959), reprinted in *Towards Another Picture*, p. 105. 'Vasari, seeking the highest term of praise, called Ambrogio Lorenzetti "philosopher" [...]. The subsequent marriage of art and literature has been a close one [...]. The artist has, in fact, been closely associated with one or other of the Two Cultures during their entire history. Today he is not'. Ayrton's argument is consistent with a position he set out in 1945. See Michael Ayrton, 'Young Painters of Today', *The Listener*, 12 July 1945 (p.46).

<sup>161</sup> Art & Language, 'Art Teaching', *Art & Language*, vol.1 no.4 (November 1971), 25–49 (p. 28).

They pointed also to its euphemistic potential—reliance on intuition could easily mean being uncritical—and to the idea’s own prescriptive use:

Pedagogues who ‘hand’ down the pseudo-notion [intuition and personal freedom] also have no recourse to ‘understanding’ except solipsism; what this will mean is that the student is involved in a kind of blind chain-reaction.<sup>162</sup>

Regardless of its merits, the academically-resistant pedagogy continues to influence the creation of art work. The cultural theorist Malcolm Quinn considers it to be ‘a position of speech’ as injurious to learning and education as ‘the idea that university generated research results in measurable cultural impact’.<sup>163</sup> Fittingly, Quinn’s assessment returns this pedagogy to the discussion of institutional administration with which it perhaps originated.

## Conclusion

The Coldstream Reforms advanced the art school’s embrace of the university, and in doing so reflected a more general encroachment of university status across further and higher education. Looking further back to Coldstream’s early work at the Slade suggests that these reforms replicated the relationship between the Slade and U.C.L., and Coldstream’s previous negotiations between those institutions. This chapter has described the dominant themes within a transition which was diffuse, each department, level of study and institution having a slightly different chronology. An evocative vignette is provided by Eileen Cooper, who remembered the swift but late departure of old-fashioned R.C.A. painting staff in 1974: ‘there were all these old gents with their big bellies, and their waistcoats [...], suits and pipes. And [Peter] de Francia got rid of them, so they weren’t there in the second year’.<sup>164</sup>

This chapter has argued that purpose and autonomy were themes which dominated this transition, and that these objectives contributed to the professionalization of young artists. Through their academicizing aims—the pursuit of university equivalence and the concern to furnish a generalist liberal education leading to a recognized (teaching) qualification—the Coldstream reforms reinforced the institution of artists holding qualifications as other

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<sup>162</sup> Art & Language, ‘Art Teaching’ (p. 31).

<sup>163</sup> Malcolm Quinn, speaking in *Creative Scholars: Research Economies in Art and Design*, Tate Britain 8 December 2008 <<http://itunes.apple.com/us/itunes-u/symposia-2008/id497715043>> [accessed 9 August 2012]. Mark Leckey was the subject of this discussion. See also Dany Nobus and Malcolm Quinn, *Knowing Nothing, Staying Stupid: Elements for a Psychoanalytic Epistemology* (London: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>164</sup> Eileen Cooper interviewed by the author (16 September 2010).

professionals—first diplomas, then degrees. In practice, changes to assessment allowed greater emphasis on display, an important facet of artistic practice. Behaviourally, they created artists better trained to verbalize like other middle-class professionals. And structurally, they complemented art school patronage of professional artist educators.

These changes participated in an adjustment of education towards use, again echoing the broader history of higher education described recently as a process ‘first to convert technical colleges into universities and [then to] attempt to reshape universities as technical colleges’.<sup>165</sup> The description resonates with the history of art schools: after art schools renounced—or at least diminished—the trade and design roles with which they had been associated since the Victorian period, qualities associated with those ‘mercantile’ functions could still be seen encroaching into fine art, as it became subjected to questions of usefulness and social value.

The status afforded by incorporation within universities seems ultimately to have come at the cost of autonomy, a price Coldstream himself had been unwilling to pay.<sup>166</sup> Stuart MacDonald has argued that the absence of a centralized institution that could appoint ‘various distinguished artists to be examiners of students, as used to be the practice in the days of the Regional Colleges of Art’, meant that ‘an increasing proportion of the Fine Arts students have looked to the Tate and the I.C.A. for leadership’.<sup>167</sup> To this list of alternative points of navigation for the art student might be added the art market and art magazines, and their presence within the art school is consistent with a concern to measure outcomes to vindicate the value of education. Exposing art schools to such assessment has the merit of guarding against complacency, but it also carries certain risks. In the 1980s Ernst Gombrich made a plea for the humanities’ exclusion from external scrutiny in an argument which might equally have been advanced for art schools:

Those who hold the purse strings are fond of repeating that ‘He who pays the piper calls the tune’. Let them never forget that in a society wholly devoted to practical skills there can be no

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<sup>165</sup> John A. Davis, Letters page, *London Review of Books*, vol. 32 no. 23 (2 December, 2010).

<sup>166</sup> This autonomy was eroded both by universities and by polytechnics. At a *Young Contemporaries* discussion on the polytechnic question, ‘Andrew Forge, the public voice of the Coldstream committee, declared very forcefully that the polytechnicisation threatened the art and design schools’ historic spirit of intelligent independence’, Jon Thompson, *The Collected Writings*, p. 483.

<sup>167</sup> Stuart MacDonald, *A Century of Art and Design Education*, p. 218.



pipers and that those who call the tune will be met by uncomprehending silence. And once the pipers are gone, they may never be heard again.<sup>168</sup>

The utilitarian concerns evident throughout this chapter to some extent reflected a new piper calling the tune—the state. As expressed in the Coldstream Reports, the tune therefore had positive, social connotations and was responding in some measure to the expansion of higher education, and the related need to defend public funding. But through an emphasis on use, the change also enacted what the protagonists might have considered a regression, returning art education to mercantile connotations it had long attempted to dismiss.

The divergence between the professionalization described above and the institutional absorption of a blank-slate discourse indicates the tensions that this professionalization exacerbated: qualities that appealed to the state were not always qualities that appealed to artist educators. If the blank-slate discourse was a by-product of these reforms it was perhaps a fitting one, extending the ideal of autonomy from art schools (where it was only partially and briefly achieved) to individual artist students.

The following two chapters explore in detail the relationship between art schools and exhibitions, as a case study of art schools' engagement with a specific 'professional' practice.

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<sup>168</sup> 'The Embattled Humanities: the Universities in Crisis', presented January 1985 to North of England Educational Conference, in Ernst Gombrich, *Topics of Our Time: Twentieth-century Issues in Learning and Art* (London: Phaidon 1991), pp. 25–35 (p. 35).

### III. Between the Art School and the Gallery:

#### The Pedagogy and Reception of Young Artist Exhibitions

##### Introduction: The Exhibition as Bridge Between Study and Professional Practice

Exhibition plays an important role in linking artistic endeavor with economic activity: exhibition of practising artists' work is critical to their economic viability and professional profile after art school. The previous chapter demonstrated how questions of purpose and, indirectly, professionalization grew more prominent with public funding of higher education and the wider student demographic that ensued. This chapter focuses on the exhibition as a case-study for the application of those questions to art school pedagogy. It describes how a desire to exhibit confronted ideological reservations about outside engagement and the place of commerce in art, a debate loaded—as the issues of the previous chapter were loaded—with questions about the status of the artist. In negotiating between status as exhibitors, even sellers, and more withdrawn, market-averse liberal artists, art students encountered contentious ideas of amateurism and professionalism which stalk much of the following discussion.

The following chapter seeks to establish how far the exhibition of work by young artists has been encouraged since the period of the first Coldstream Report. It surveys received tropes regarding these exhibitions, before suggesting the possibility of a feedback cycle between professionalized display and the work produced by young artists. Because the sentiments discussed recur across the period, the chapter proceeds thematically rather than chronologically. Once the preliminary themes have been addressed here, chapter IV provides a more conventionally historical account of the relevant exhibitions, with particular emphasis given to the *Young Contemporaries*.

## The Art School as Limbo

In reality, the schools now look like Ellis Island and are often forced to operate as giant clearing houses.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Wentworth, 1999

Richard Wentworth's conceptualization of the art school as a clearing house evokes the difficult position of the student artist in the art school, held in quarantine before professional practice. The higher the degree, and the older the student, the more awkward this liminal space between study and practise arguably becomes. Irit Rogoff said recently of postgraduate art students at Goldsmiths: 'ninety percent are people who have come back from the art world after having been professionally active, because they need the space'.<sup>2</sup> Matthew Collings had suggested the same ten years earlier: 'The Goldsmiths M.A. [...] is a kind of remedial course. Maybe all M.A.s are based on the traumas that you suffered during your art school education. So if you go to do an M.A., it's because it went wrong the first time around'.<sup>3</sup> This framing of the art school as a cure—a retreat where the anxieties of a harsher exterior world are relieved—corresponds with Richard Wentworth's metaphor, albeit with the transition reversed. Both the 'clearing house' and the 'retreat' model are consistent with a widespread ivory-tower-conception of higher education and its institutions as somehow separate from ordinary activity.

For the art school, exhibitions of students' and young artists' work bridge this divide. This and the following chapter focus principally on exhibitions beyond the art school. These external exhibitions came before degree shows began to invest in their presentation, suggesting that the latter development reflected the former.<sup>4</sup> As they developed, the mode of selection for these original shows outside art school was significant. Normally, they were open submission; art school students and recent graduates would submit work. A panel which combined artists, critics and dealers (replicating the elements necessary for broader professional success) would then select work. This spread of professionals was reminiscent

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Wentworth, 'Somewhere Between the Monastery and the Circus', in *Research and the Artist: Considering the Role of Art School*, ed. by Antonia Payne (Oxford: Ruskin School, 2000), pp. 14–17 (p. 16).

<sup>2</sup> Irit Rogoff in 'First Roundtable, Ballyvaughan, Co. Clare', in *The State of Art Criticism*, ed. by James Elkins and Michael Newman (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 129–179 (p. 149). This roundtable took place on 17 June 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Collings, 'Mighty Baby', in *The Dynamics of Now: Issues in Art Education* Issue 3, ed. by William Furlong, Polly Gould and Paul Hetherington (London: Tate and Wimbledon, 1998), pp. 183–188 (p. 187).

<sup>4</sup> 'Degree show' is itself a largely anachronistic term before 1977 (the third year after the C.N.A.A. and the N.C.D.A.D. merged). Fine Art degrees were rare before this. The high presentation values associated with degree shows today were adopted relatively early by the R.C.A. and the R.A., but their graduates were not receiving degrees.

of the nineteenth-century Salon in Paris and its audiences. As the art historians Harrison and Cynthia White wrote:

The Salon and official recognition of other kinds were crucial elements in establishing creative renown, but it was the critics in conjunction with the dealers who accomplished the detailed task of building up an artist in a specific circle of patrons.<sup>5</sup>

Students' interaction with such professionals troubled some: in 1957 Lawrence Alloway wrote that the '[t]alent-spotters (dealers and critics) converge on [the *Young Contemporaries*] like flies'.<sup>6</sup> The annual *Young Contemporaries* was one of the most important exhibitions for the art school student, and the shifting composition of its jury suggested an ongoing, unresolved negotiation between art school students and the wider art world. Perhaps surprisingly, the first organizers of *Young Contemporaries* hoped to use a student committee rather than a cross-section of art world representatives to select the work. Their initiative was blocked by a majority of art schools, and selection by students was not achieved for twenty years, until 1969.<sup>7</sup>

### Pedagogic Shortcomings

As discussed in the previous chapter, art schools' concessions to the notion of usefulness tended to take specific forms. Coldstream focused on preparing art students for teaching, Darwin on preparing them for engagement with industry, and for the most part the idea of pursuing a professional career as a fine artist was neglected.<sup>8</sup> The 1976 Calouste Gulbenkian report *Support for the Arts in England and Wales* found that in art education:

Few of the art courses make any serious attempt to prepare students for life as an artist. Some of the most serious problems facing artists when they emerge from training are these: how to find and pay for studio space and meet the cost of materials and equipment; how to publicise

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<sup>5</sup> Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Lawrence Alloway, 'New Faces', *Art News* (May 1957) (p. 57).

<sup>7</sup> There was always a student committee for administration, but in 1969 and 1970 *Young Contemporaries* was also student-selected. Young Contemporaries Archive, ACGB 121/1176 folder 3 of 5. Letter from Ivor Fox, student Chair, to Philip James of the Arts Council dated 6 March 1949. Fox recounts that of thirty art schools consulted, only two were willing to have a student selection committee. He therefore needed to request more money, to fund a selection committee including Ceri Richards, Ruskin Spear, and Keith Vaughan.

<sup>8</sup> Certain exceptions are detailed below.

their work and interest galleries in it; understanding how commercial galleries operate and what arrangements should be sought between artist and gallery.<sup>9</sup>

The concern was reiterated in a 1985 report sponsored by the same foundation.<sup>10</sup> It had precedent too: Misha Black, Professor of industrial design at the R.C.A. from 1959 to 1975, described the pre-war art school as fundamentally disengaged from the practicalities of post-school work:

With a few isolated exceptions the schools of art and design were, before the last war, sanctuaries for the determined and refuges for the idle. The 'art school portfolio' of the graduate student was a [...] description of amateur incompetence.<sup>11</sup>

The Coldstream reforms signaled an intolerance of this image of art education. But it seems that the art school was still not conceived as an institution for creating artists. Phyllida Barlow, who studied at Chelsea and the Slade between 1960 and 1966, said of the 'giant educationalists' Fullard, Gowing and Coldstream that '[t]hey didn't see them as places that manufactured finished artists who would be delivered straight to the art world [...] they saw them as places where there could be an ongoing process of revealing and testing out'.<sup>12</sup>

### Separation and corruption

Amongst artists, as amongst card-players or lovers, professionals are a little like crooks.<sup>13</sup>

Jean Dubuffet, 1948

In 1937 William Coldstream had devised with Graham Bell 'A Plan for Artists', an attempt to establish non-market patronage to limit painters' exposure to economic pressures. These pressures were perceived as encouraging the creation of work along formulaic, dealer-or-

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<sup>9</sup> *Support for the Arts in England and Wales*, ed. by Lord Redcliffe-Maud (London: Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976), p. 143.

<sup>10</sup> *The Economic Situation of the Visual Artist*, ed. by Richard Hoggart (London: Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Misha Black, 'Notes on Design Education in Great Britain', in *Readings in Art & Design Education: 1. After Hornsey*, ed. by D.W.Piper (London: Davis Poynter, 1973), pp. 29–45 (p. 30).

<sup>12</sup> Phyllida Barlow interviewed by John Reardon, *Cb Cb Cb Changes* (London: Ridinghouse, 2009), pp. 36–49 (p. 39).

<sup>13</sup> Jean Dubuffet 'Crude Art Preferred to Cultural Art', in *Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 593–595 (p. 594). Dubuffet's text comes from a 1948 catalogue.

critic-friendly lines.<sup>14</sup> Given such suspicion of commercial patronage, it is perhaps unsurprising that Coldstream was later hesitant about student exhibitions. When Coldstream learnt of Nicholas Logsdail's first exhibition (of five young artists: Terence Ibbott, Derek Jarman, Paul Martin, Keith Milow and Paul Riley at Bell Street in 1967) Logsdail was still studying at the Slade. Logsdail was summoned to Coldstream's office: 'Coldstream [...] said "You're running a gallery now. I think your place should be made available to someone who's going to put it to better use"'.<sup>15</sup> Similar hostility could be found at the Royal College of Art the following year, where Graham Ovenden had his efforts to exhibit whilst still a student vetoed. Ovenden recalled:

I was given basically a one-man show at the I.C.A. in my last year of the Royal College [1968], and it had got as far as catalogues being printed [...] and suddenly and for no reason at all Darwin said 'no, you're not going to do it'—he was the then principal of the Royal College—even though Robert [Melville, the critic] actually personally went to see him and a whole host of other things. Peter [de Francia] and other members of staff pleaded with him—he wouldn't allow me to do the exhibition and said if I carried forth with it he would make sure that in fact I have to pay all my grants back and things like that.<sup>16</sup>

The following year, Anthony Caro warned his students at St Martin's against selling, suggesting that it entailed a loss of integrity. In television footage of 1969, he is seen saying to one: 'Keep your art clean; keep your art for what you do for yourself—don't do it for anyone else'.<sup>17</sup>

These instances of resistance cite teachers and senior staff, but (with the exception of Caro) they are partial accounts, and it seems that faculty were not the only parties wary of exhibiting and selling. In the early 1990s, Nicholas Usherwood wrote of 'the real enemy being the college bureaucracies and their political masters, who, when teachers and students show enterprise in marketing themselves, do not respond in kind'.<sup>18</sup> His comment reminds us that some teachers (including Peter de Francia in Ovenden's account above)

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<sup>14</sup> See Bruce Laughton, *The Euston Road School* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986), pp. 4–5. The plan required ten wealthy people to guarantee participating artists' bank overdrafts for a year, after which sales from an exhibition would reimburse the guarantors. Kenneth Clark and Samuel Courtauld signed up.

<sup>15</sup> Nicholas Logsdail interviewed by Jeremy Isaacs, 'A Sense of the Future,' *Modern Painters*, vol.6 no.2 (summer 1993), 80–83 (p. 82).

<sup>16</sup> Graham Ovenden interviewed by Grace Lau (2000), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C459/117, tape 4 of 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Mark Lawson talks to Anthony Caro*. Dir. Louise Bournier. First broadcast on BBC Four (16 February 2011). Showing footage from *Release*, BBC (1969).

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Usherwood, 'Fresh Art', *Modern Painters*, vol.5 no.2 (summer 1992), 2–3 (p. 2).

enthusiastically endorsed exhibitions; their prominent role in the history of the *Young Contemporaries* will be discussed in chapter IV. Equally, students themselves were partial to resisting exposure to the art market: in 1970 Jack Straw, then President of the National Union of Students, reported that students ‘felt that art education was in danger of being taken over by the consumer society’.<sup>19</sup> Books like Marshall McLuhan’s *The Mechanical Bride* (1951), particularly influential in Pop and widely consumed in art schools,<sup>20</sup> may have contributed to this concern, making students nervous that their inexpensive work was merely fodder for a new economy of planned obsolescence.<sup>21</sup> For Robin Darwin, their anxieties were altogether too earnest. After visiting Yale in 1953, he reported being impressed by American art students’ engagement with the economy. The position is perhaps difficult to reconcile with his later encounter with Ovenden:

It would, I think, be difficult to find what is fairly common over here—the student who is so concerned to preserve his virtue in a wicked world that he will turn his back on it if necessary, and after seven or eight years of training to be an artist, will become a railway porter or a garage hand rather than compromise himself.<sup>22</sup>

Cultural wariness of exhibiting may inform those accounts which downplay exhibiting retrospectively. In 1997, Bridget Riley said of her peers at the R.C.A. in the early 1950s: ‘We were not ambitious the way students are today. We did not expect attention from the commercial galleries, or to command the interest of a wider public’.<sup>23</sup> Patrick Caulfield similarly recalled of the *Young Contemporaries*, where he exhibited in 1961, 1962 and 1963:

There weren’t many alternatives then—it’s so different now [1989]; young artists can get shows if they have any push or talent with not too much difficulty. There are venues, and there didn’t used to be venues—there was nothing really. *Young Contemporaries* was the only

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<sup>19</sup> “‘Super Course’ Proposals in Art Education Report Angers Students, Mr Straw Says’, *The Times*, Monday 2 November 1970, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Probably through Lawrence Alloway’s influence; see Martin Harrison, *Transition: The London Art Scene in the Fifties* (London: Merrill/Barbican, 2002) p. 95. Richard Smith was influenced by the book, and may have transmitted that influence through his contributions to the R.C.A. journal *Ark*. See Christopher Finch, *Image as Language: Aspects of British Art 1950–1968* (London: Penguin, 1969), p. 54. McLuhan’s book deconstructed images from advertisements to describe the manufacture of desires.

<sup>21</sup> see chapter VI.

<sup>22</sup> Alex Seago, *Burning the Box of Beautiful Things: The Development of a Postmodern Sensibility* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 148–9 quoting the minutes of the R.C.A. College Council of 1955.

<sup>23</sup> Bridget Riley interviewed by Michael Bracewell, in ‘A Plea for Painting’, *The Guardian*, 15 March 1997, Weekend section p. 14.

public showcase which you only could have when you were a student of course [...] after that it was a bit of a blank.<sup>24</sup>

These accounts contradict the record of these artists' luminous early careers, and the volume of young artist exhibitions they witnessed (see appendix 2). Artists' desires to distance themselves from precocious exhibition histories perhaps testifies to the appeal of struggle in narratives of artistic progress, or to the stigma of professionalism discussed below.

### The Sinister Market and its Cultural Roots

Given the necessity for the professional artist of engaging with exhibition and related art-world systems, widespread institutional opposition across art schools is perhaps surprising. It becomes less so in light of a longer history of academic and artistic suspicion of the marketplace. Paul Duro argued that in the eighteenth century, the expansion of the art market led to a decline in genres such as history painting, and consequently to a challenge to the status of painting, suddenly robbed of one of its more grandiose subjects:

artists no longer felt the need to demonstrate intimacy with the more recondite aspects of the Classical past, but attempted to meet the needs of a broader and less discriminating public by maintaining the outward appearance of history painting while quietly abandoning its intellectual endeavor.<sup>25</sup>

Since its inauguration in 1769, the Royal Academy's *Summer Exhibition* has been a crucible for the tensions elicited when art and commerce mix. For Étienne-Delécluze in 1855, public exhibitions were vulgar bazaars and a major cause for what he considered a decline in the arts.<sup>26</sup> The art historian Colin Trodd recently characterized the nineteenth-century view:

the Exhibition, collapsing the pleasure of art into the search for 'tricks' and 'manipulations', is an 'engine for debasing and vulgarising public taste'. [In] Exhibitory culture, so this discourse

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<sup>24</sup> Patrick Caulfield interviewed by Andrew Lambirth (1996–97), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/64, tape 6 of 14.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Duro, 'Art Institutions: Academies, Exhibitions, Art Training and Museums', quoted in Paul Barlow, 'Fear and Loathing of the Academic, or, Just What is it That Makes the Avant-Garde so Different, so Appealing?', in *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rafael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 15–32 (p. 28).

<sup>26</sup> 'le caractere d'un bazaar, ou chaque marchand s'efforce de presenter les objets les plus varies et les plus bizarres', quoted in Oskar Bätschmann, *The Artist in the Modern World: The Conflict between Market and Self-Expression*, trans. by Eileen Martin (Cologne: DuMont / Yale University Press, 1997), p. 10.



goes [...] public display becomes individual publicity; style becomes advertising; pictorial character becomes visual sensationalism.<sup>27</sup>

These historic objections provide a prototype for later protests against exhibitions by art school students: perceptions of harm to work's integrity and laments about displays' attention-seeking quality recur in objections to displays of young artists' work into the present day.<sup>28</sup> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the market was expanding to reflect a move in patronage away from aristocracy and towards industrial wealth. Perhaps the democratization of higher education described in the previous chapter precipitated similar anxieties: just as a shift in the profile of buyers led to doubts about the nobility of an artist's craft, so too could a shift in the profile of artists when the art school population grew more diverse.<sup>29</sup> As mentioned above, the Coldstream reforms' preoccupation with legitimizing art education by academicizing it reflected the ongoing concern with social status. In such a context, the art school curriculum's rejection of exhibition was a relatively understandable re-enactment of market-aversion. It was a conventional positioning of the art school as an institution for classical education rather than vocational training.

### The Market and the Amateur

Such a position nevertheless appears dated. Even by the middle of the twentieth century, the opposition between art and commerce was difficult to substantiate and in the prevailing system of patronage, stigmatizing exhibition also risked being exclusionary. Abstention from showing and selling might ultimately relegate the student or recent graduate to amateurism.

Engagement with the art market had been central to a 1963 debate about the role of the amateur in British art. An article the critic David Sylvester advocated the virtues of amateurism, both for its 'disregard for a certain kind of product, and [...] unwillingness to

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<sup>27</sup> Colin Trodd, 'The Royal Academy and the Commerce of Discourse', in *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Rafael Cardoso Denis and Colin Trodd, pp. 179–193 (p. 183). Trodd quotes H. H. Statham, 'Reflections at the Royal Academy,' *Fortnightly Review* (1877), p. 820. Note also the common contexts of institutions entrusted with educating artists.

<sup>28</sup> For example, *Beck's Futures* reviewed by Martin Coomer in *Modern Painters*, June 2006, 111–12: 'It's as if, regardless of the quality of the work, *Beck's Futures* as an entity suffers from attention-seeking neediness'.

<sup>29</sup> A case could be made for a twentieth-century change in patronage, too. The Calouste Gulbenkian report of 1985 statistically demonstrated a decline in the average price of work sold at the Royal Academy *Summer Exhibition*, and suggested it reflected 'a change in its public to one that is more broadly based': *The Economic Situation of the Visual Artist*, ed. by Richard Hoggart (London: Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), p. 59.

play safe and concentrate on doing what one knows one can do'.<sup>30</sup> This argument was advanced in the context of praising the work of William Coldstream and Francis Bacon, each artist having had fallow periods—which for Sylvester signified their 'complete dissociation between production and distribution'.<sup>31</sup> Overall the comments seem mild, but they nevertheless prompted a cohort of artists to respond in a letter to the *Sunday Times*. They claimed:

The amateur, in art as in other aspects of our society, is characterized by his diminished commitment, and consequently his diminished responsibility. In his article 'Dark Sunlight', Mr Sylvester confused the issue by setting the hypothetical purity of the amateur against the equally hypothetical nasty commercialism of the professional. Commercialism is no more the inevitable counterpart of professionalism in painting than in any other field.<sup>32</sup>

This debate indicates how negatively charged commercialism was in this period, and how quickly it became the focus of distinctions between amateurism and professionalism. The art historian Virginia Button has contrasted the emergent modernist notion of professional commitment to art with 'fey amateurism, epitomized by Neo-Romantic artists', and English-artist-as-'aristocratic amateur' which had characterized British art in the preceding period.<sup>33</sup> The 1963 Sylvester controversy echoes the anti-market discourse and perhaps suggests these notions lingered in objections to the exhibiting of students' work. Very similar ideas can be seen in contemporary criticisms of the Venice Biennale a year earlier: *The Times* critic of 1962 reported that 'as modern art steadily becomes bigger business, so the Biennale reflects the fact in the increasing number of those who seem to attend it merely as though the "vernissage" were some sort of stock exchange [...] [this aspect] disagreeably affected an atmosphere already fraught with speculation enough'.<sup>34</sup> Bryan Robertson called the Biennale:

a trade fair of unparalleled meretriciousness and vulgarity, where dealers push their wares with the assiduity of greengrocers with highly perishable stocks, collectors anxiously watch the rise and fall of the international modern art market like amateur financiers, government

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<sup>30</sup> David Sylvester, 'Dark Sunlight', *Sunday Times Magazine* (2 June 1963), 5–26 (p. 8).

<sup>31</sup> Sylvester, 'Dark Sunlight' (p. 5).

<sup>32</sup> Letter to the *Sunday Times*, signed by the Cohen brothers, Denny, Kitaj, Ascott, Blake, Caro, Smith, Paolozzi, Turnbull, Wall and Benjamin. Reproduced in David Mellor, *The Sixties Art Scene in London*, exh. cat. (London: Phaidon, 1993), p. 91.

<sup>33</sup> Virginia Button, 'The Aesthetic of Decline: English Neo-Romanticism c.1935–1956' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1992), pp. 59–61.

<sup>34</sup> From Our Art Critic, 'Venice Biennale as a Barometer of Modern Art', *The Times*, 26 June 1962, p. 5.

representatives lobby and exert their influence like horse-traders to gain prizes for their respective countries.<sup>35</sup>

### Susceptibility to Success and Fame

It all seems so early, easy and quick, and might not, in the long view, be good for them.<sup>36</sup>

Anonymous, 1962

If the pedagogic gap surrounding exhibition had an old cultural explanation, it also had a more immediate one. Critics particularly perceived a risk that students, through their youth and open-mindedness, were more susceptible to influence than more mature artists. Were exhibitions to become important, their work was liable—it was thought—to adapt to the ends of exhibition, an adaptation which was assumed to be bad. This understanding may in turn have informed the position of tutors within art schools.

A contemporary account of the London art world in the 1960s suggested: 'In the past decade we have witnessed [...] the tremendous influence of the self-advertising, self-promoting, self-sensationalizing methods of the artists of the New York School'.<sup>37</sup> Its author, Robert Wraight, lamented that the 'art-student straight from school is encouraged by the commercial set-up to regard himself as a finished artist, to splurge his immature libido across a series of outsize canvases in the hope that they will attract attention to him'.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, John Russell felt '[s]ome young artists lose no time in assuming an acceptable personality, and sometimes the public is taken in. But in the long run the best work is done by the artist who takes his time, works long and regular hours, shows little, and remembers that there is no short cut to a truly personal style'.<sup>39</sup> Guy Brett wrote of David Hockney in 1963 'Such a large draught of early success could prove as deadly as hemlock to an artist in any field'.<sup>40</sup> The danger was perceived beyond London too. A 1965 book about the

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<sup>35</sup> Bryan Robertson, 'Against the Rimless Men: Reflections on the Young Artist', *The London Magazine*, vol.3 no.1 (April 1963), 48–62 (p. 53).

<sup>36</sup> Anonymous, 'Art School in the Limelight', *The Times*, Thursday 8 November 1962, p. 16. The subject of the article was the R.C.A. show *Towards Art?*.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Wraight, *The Art Game* (London: Leslie Frewin, 1965), p. 162.

<sup>38</sup> Wraight, *The Art Game*, p. 168.

<sup>39</sup> Bryan Robertson and John Russell, *Private View* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1965), p. 274.

<sup>40</sup> Guy Brett, 'David Hockney: A Note on Progress', *The London Magazine*, vol.3 no.1 (April 1963), 73–75 (p. 73).

American art scene observed a trend of 'young men in a hurry, who "click" on the marketplace [...] and find it difficult to resist the ballyhoo which envelops them'.<sup>41</sup> A critic covering *London: The New Scene* in 1965 felt: 'many of these artists need time [...]. Art is seldom nourished by literary posing or pseudo-historical self-consciousness; it grows slowly from integrity and hard work'.<sup>42</sup> Significantly, these comments all focus on artists' practices rather than their work.

In the 1980s, the same suspicion was still in evidence: dealers' interest was thought to mean that 'art has often cut its cloth to fit this demand. It has become young, flashy, usually ignorant. It beckons with bright colours and amuses with silly jokes'.<sup>43</sup> The concerns are seldom so formal; more often they attach their distrust to a perceived ease of creation, as in John Russell's objection that work did not demonstrate 'long and regular hours' of creation. Such disconnect between the art object and the youth of its creator appears to be principally a problem of imagination. When an anonymous *Times* critic wrote in 1951 that 'for the moment the very young artist has assumed a style and idiom which cannot, except in some few instances, be the natural product of his own experience and efforts',<sup>44</sup> the dissatisfaction was not with the work or the artist but with a perceived distance between them. Likewise for Edward Lucie-Smith, who praised the work shown in the 1964 *Young Contemporaries* but was troubled by its failure to reflect the youth of its creators:

Many of the paintings, and even some of the sculptures, have about them a crispness, a confidence, a completeness of vision which is at first sight very impressive. It is only gradually that one begins to wonder. We all, I imagine, expect very young artists to be derivative. For a little while, until their own personalities take shape and strength, we expect to find unassimilated tricks of style, borrowings which have not been fully transformed. What is frightening is that these borrowed garments fit their young wearers so well.<sup>45</sup>

In all these instances it was knowledge brought to the work about its authors which caused this criticism, not the work itself.

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<sup>41</sup> Bernard Rosenberg and Norris Fliegel, *The Vanguard Artist: Portrait and Self-Portrait* (Chicago IL: Quadrangle, 1965), p. 57.

<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth Stevens, *The Washington Post*, 18 April 1965 transcribed in British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, Report on Progress to the 81<sup>st</sup> Meeting, 17 May 1966.

<sup>43</sup> Waldemar Januszczak, 'The Eighties', in *Twenty-Five Years: Annely Juda Fine Art / Juda Rowan Gallery, Collected Commemorative Exhibition Catalogue of Masterpieces of the Avant-Garde Shows*, exh. cat. (London: Annely Juda, 1985), pp. 287–294 (pp. 293–4).

<sup>44</sup> Anonymous, 'Work of Art Students', *The Times*, 23 January 1951, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> Edward Lucie-Smith, 'Triumph of Manner over Content', *The Times*, 28 January 1964, p. 13.

Putting young artists in the limelight was viewed with caution for its possible effect on young artists themselves, not just their work, an argument advanced within art schools. Fittingly, given its position at the vanguard of exhibiting, these reservations emanated from St Martin's where even a tutor who encouraged artists to engage with the art market worried about its effect on them. In a 1965 report on Barry Flanagan, who was preparing for his first solo show at the Rowan Gallery, Phillip King commented that:

Recently he had quite a lot of trouble with the big demand for his work from galleries etc.; this has temporarily affected his output and thrown him a bit off-balance. I think he will grow a thicker skin, though.<sup>46</sup>

Anthony Caro proved even more ambivalent, looking back twenty years later, about how beneficial the 1965 *New Generation* sculpture show at the Whitechapel had been for his students. He felt that in the end 'they had too much too soon and couldn't really cope'.<sup>47</sup>

Given how widespread the reticence towards exhibiting and success was, it is unsurprising to find it repeated by young artists. In a *Monitor* BBC broadcast of 1960, the artist Anthony Whishaw suggested: '[t]here are great difficulties I think in maturing young. I think one of the worst things that can happen is that one can mature and have success and because you have this success you can rely on it'.<sup>48</sup> A young Patrick Procktor made an insightful comparison with the entertainment industry:

I realize, naturally, that an early success as an artist has its dangers—because success is not really an important part of art, even though these days there is a genuine danger of confusing art with the entertainment business. In the entertainment world, success is what you aim for. If you are a pop singer or an actor, you fulfill your career by being acknowledged and loved by the public. But painting isn't part of the entertainment business. It is more precariously balanced between the entertainment business and a branch of philosophy, and success as a painter is a much more dubious commodity.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> From a document in the Frank Martin archives (uncatalogued) cited by Hester Westley, 'Traditions and Transitions: St Martin's Sculpture Department 1960–1979' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Courtauld Institute, 2007), p. 118.

<sup>47</sup> Anthony Caro interviewed by Tim Marlow, 'The Marketing and Impact of New Generation Sculpture' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988), p. 38.

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Whishaw, interviewed by Huw Weldon, *Monitor*, BBC broadcast 8 May 1960, <[www.anthonywhishaw.com](http://www.anthonywhishaw.com)> [accessed 15 June 2009].

<sup>49</sup> Noel Barber, *Conversations with Painters* (London: Collins, 1964), p. 151.

Some arguments against the exhibition of work by young artists attach to specific age, and many have argued that the benefits of display would be greater if merely deferred. Nicholas Logsdail suggested of the *Young Contemporaries* that it should not be for students but for those who graduated two years before.<sup>50</sup> Edward Lucie-Smith, too, argued that their real value would be later: ‘what is needed, in fact, is a kind of exhibition less enamored with the idea of the totally new talent, and more prepared to offer hospitality to talent which has already gained some kind of foothold [...] presenting the work of painters who are at the most crucial stage of their careers; who are, let us say, aged between 25 and 35’.<sup>51</sup> This was the age catered for by the Serpentine Summer Shows which expressly excluded art students and had an age cap of thirty-five.

### Trial and Error

Related to the concern about young artists’ exposure to the market, the most pedagogically substantial argument against premature exposure to public exhibition is perhaps the activity’s potential to discourage experimentation. By virtue of its position on the edge of the art world, art school provides opportunities for private failure which public display does not. In selecting work for a recent *Bloomberg New Contemporaries*, Sarah Kent feared that such exhibitions hindered student’s development: ‘[s]tudents are robbed of the chance to make a space to experiment—to investigate or try things out. Instead you are at college to produce something to sell’.<sup>52</sup> Of all objections to early public exhibition by art students, this sense that it might limit or condition young artists’ fields of experiment appears the most tangible.

It is perhaps not coincidental that these concerns about exhibiting closely mirror criticisms of assessment exercises in universities more generally, returning discussion to the wider higher education context addressed in the previous chapter. As the sociologist Mary Evans has recently argued of the Quality Assurance Agency and Research Assessment Exercise, assessment can contribute to ‘the gradual reversal of liberal ideas about education and the disappearance of the acceptance of the implicit risks, inconsistencies and ambiguities of education at its very best. The finest education is one without aims and objectives’.<sup>53</sup> As

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<sup>50</sup> Reproduced in Andrew Lambirth, ‘Introduction’, *New Contemporaries 1986: Recent Work from Britain’s Art Schools*, exh. cat. (London: I.C.A., 1986), p. 29.

<sup>51</sup> Edward Lucie-Smith, ‘The Young Painter and His Public’, *The Times*, Tuesday 21 March 1967, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> *Bloomberg New Contemporaries 2000*, exh. cat. (Manchester: Cornerhouse, 2000), p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Mary Evans, *Killing Thinking: the Death of the Universities* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 124. This is the Research Excellence Framework, R.E.F., at time of writing.

with examination and assessment, the danger of premature display during education is its tendency to elevate the measurement of education above education itself. Irit Rogoff directly echoed Mary Evans in her recent criticism of assessment in art schools:

One shudders at the thought of increasingly ‘professional’ artists, curators, directors and critics, whose schooling is aimed at producing prescribed museum-quality exhibitions, performances, exquisitely professional displays of cultural resistance, perfectly honed critically positioned texts worthy of publication. One shudders [...] because the idea of being able to foresee the expected outcome of an investigative process is completely alien to the very notion of what ‘education’ is about.<sup>54</sup>

Exhibition was therefore perhaps neglected as a distraction from experimenting and learning. In 1951, *The Times* observed ‘attempts to apply the knowledge and skill so far gained to the production of the finished article, the exhibitable and even saleable work, is a thing which it is far from being the student’s business to do in the ordinary course of his studies’, and this view has largely prevailed.<sup>55</sup>

#### Avoiding Professionalism: The Slickness Taboo

Although criticisms of exhibiting and success are most frequently leveled at young artists, the substance of these criticisms often has little to do with an artist’s age. For example, Robert Hughes wrote ‘[i]t would be a distortion to suppose that the work of any young painter is likely to be other than one phase, soon to be changed, in a long development’.<sup>56</sup> However, this account of development of style or practice is as true of artists at any phase of their careers; if modification of work to exhibitionary ends is a problem, it is likely to be a perennial one.<sup>57</sup>

A taste for formal traits described by those seeking them as ‘unprofessional’ or ‘crude’ may inform this species of criticism. The curator Iwona Blazwick saw a taste for naïvety pervading the objections she heard about the 1989 *B.T. New Contemporaries*, for which she was a selector. The critics all indicated

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<sup>54</sup> Irit Rogoff, ‘Survey: Schools of Thought’, *Frieze*, 101 (September 2006) (p. 147).

<sup>55</sup> Anonymous, ‘Work of Art Students: Young Contemporaries’ Exhibition’, *The Times*, Tuesday 23 January 1951, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Robert Hughes, ‘Stuyvesant Scholarships’, *Studio International*, vol.172 no.880 (August 1966) (p. 85).

<sup>57</sup> Development and change should also be neutral terms, as they can be either good or bad.

nostalgia for the splashy, unfinished, crude matter that people associate with student work—people have made various comments to me like ‘it’s too polished; it’s too professional; it’s too finished-off; it’s too market-orientated [...]’. Those are just some of the observations that we have been gathering back from people: ‘where is the figurative painting; where are the splashy expressions?’ and so on and so forth.<sup>58</sup>

Jon Thompson recalled students at Goldsmiths being shunned for the same reasons: ‘they were said to be “too formed”, “too clever” or, most damning of all, “too professional”’.<sup>59</sup> This seems to have long been a problem: *The Times* review of *Young Contemporaries* in 1950 had the extraordinary complaint that ‘the general level of the exhibits is astonishingly and perhaps even alarmingly high’.<sup>60</sup> A foreword to the 1964 *Young Contemporaries* prayed for an art market recession to cure this problem that had arisen because ‘dealers and critics have recently come to think of art schools as forcing frames to feed an insatiable market with novelties’.<sup>61</sup>

Student and professional identities perhaps converged most closely when the *Young Contemporaries* was displayed in the Tate in 1967. Guy Brett felt: ‘[t]he orderliness and selectivity of this year’s show seems a move in the wrong direction’.<sup>62</sup> For him it represented ‘an apex in an official attitude of grooming young English artists for the international art world’.<sup>63</sup> A critic writing in the *Tribune* painted such a vivid image of the earlier editions of *Young Contemporaries* that the sense of loss is palpable: ‘I miss the unpretentious huggermugger of the Suffolk Street shows, with a student lolling at the duty desk, and a slightly arrogant anti-connoisseur atmosphere pervading the place’.<sup>64</sup> This thirst for low production values has since extended to degree shows: in 1988 the artist John Bellany nostalgically recalled amateurishness there, too:

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<sup>58</sup> Iwona Blazwick, *BT New Contemporaries Open Debate*, Institute of Contemporary Arts, 13 January 1990, British Library Sound Archive F733.

<sup>59</sup> Jon Thompson, *The Collected Writings of Jon Thompson* (London: Ridinghouse, 2011), p. 430. This was an essay titled ‘The Economics of Culture: the Revival of British Art in the 1980s’, written for the 2001 exhibition *Public Offerings*.

<sup>60</sup> Anonymous, ‘Students’ Work at R.B.A. Galleries’, *The Times*, 23 January 1950, p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> Joseph Rykwert, ‘Introduction’, *Young Contemporaries*, exh. cat., (London: F.B.A. Galleries, 1964).

<sup>62</sup> Guy Brett, ‘Young Contemporaries at the Tate’, *The Times*, 27 January 1967, p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> Guy Brett, ‘Young Contemporaries try out Fresh Methods’, *The Times* 21 April 1969, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Margaret Richards, ‘Fine Art and Furniture’, *The Tribune*, 3 February 1967.  
<<http://archive.tribunemagazine.co.uk/article/3rd-february-1967/11/fine-art-and-furniture>> [accessed 9 August 2012].



In those days [he studied at the Royal College from 1965 to 1968] the diploma shows were different. Nowadays it's just like walking into a West End gallery. Then you just had your studio space (you were given a can of emulsion to paint the walls), and you hung up as much as you could of the best stuff you had [...] I think some people run too fast, to get a posh frame around everything.<sup>65</sup>

A suspicion of professionalism continues into the present. A review of degree shows in 2008 was put off by students 'setting up their work to be looked at, reproduced, discussed on the internet, bought, sold, objectified and, in time, commodified'.<sup>66</sup> A *Beck's Futures* display, likewise, was criticized for being 'slick and pleased with itself'.<sup>67</sup>

### 'Professional' as 'Derivative'

The tendency to denigrate premature exposure has so far been accounted for in terms of a historic suspicion of the marketplace, and a need to defend art students' opportunities for private experimentation. In each case associations are made between what is considered 'professional' and what is considered 'derivative'.

A litany of criticisms of derivativeness, especially of the influence of art magazine images, can be seen across the period, often accompanying censure of young artists' professionalism. In 1956, David Sylvester attacked the work of Peter Midgley at the Piccadilly Gallery: 'Midgley seems to me to be just one more young professional who has been keeping his ears and his eyes open'.<sup>68</sup> Inevitably the concern was most pronounced when *Young Contemporaries* took place at the Tate in 1967; in such a setting work was more likely to look magazine-worthy, and more likely to look like other work displayed in similar spaces. Exhibition in a museum would likely make work appear more professional simply by dint of context. John Russell wrote: 'A great deal of it was based more on careful study of the international art-press than on single-handed experiment'<sup>69</sup> and Michael Podro commented on 'a very, very worrying thing about this exhibition [...] the pictures seem to have been selected for their capacity to look unmistakably like the painting of the mid-sixties

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<sup>65</sup> *Exhibition Road: Painters at the Royal College of Art*, ed. by Paul Huxley (London: Phaidon, 1988), p. 92.

<sup>66</sup> Keith Miller, 'Show and Sell', *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 July 2009, p. 18.

<sup>67</sup> Anon, Review of *Beck's Futures 2003*, *Modern Painters*, vol.16 no.2 (summer 2003) (p. 115).

<sup>68</sup> David Sylvester, 'Young English Painting', *The Listener*, vol.55 no.1402 (12 January 1956) (p. 64).

<sup>69</sup> John Russell's 'London', *Art News*, vol.66 no.1 (March 1967), 55–56 (p. 55).

or the sculpture of the mid-sixties'.<sup>70</sup> In the same year, a review of diploma shows made the same observation: 'the most startling fact' about the exhibitions was 'the ease with which many students pick up and imitate any idiom which is currently successful today'.<sup>71</sup>

In 1969 Bryan Robertson was moved to write that '[s]tudents mostly paint or sculpt like Artforum and hope for scholarships or other means to get them to New York or Los Angeles'. His regret was more specific: that art-world engagement had been a homogenizing force in so far as art students tended to look to the same place—the U.S.A.—for inspiration. This, he argued, promoted a tendency towards 'the deadening and shallow uniformity with which style spreads from reproductions in art journals by providing concrete terms of reference for students here in England and in Europe'.<sup>72</sup> Comments about magazine sources still appeared in the 1980s and 1990s: 'The *New Contemporaries* clearly look at art magazines; and the show gave a fairly accurate reflection of fashionable trends',<sup>73</sup> or 'Goldsmiths art not only looked like art, it looked like art we had seen before, but made more precisely, as if straining to please'.<sup>74</sup>

### Performing Amateurism

Anxiety that students exhibiting work in public and commercial galleries might imitate the sort of work they had already seen in such venues seems to have been misplaced; if anything the impulse seems to have been the opposite. The art historian and critic Katy Siegel has identified a school of willfully bad, clumsy painting, and she argues that it reflected sentimental demand for amateurish work: '[f]or the most part, this unambitious, unmasterful art is not exactly anti-professional [...] but rather can be better seen as socially imposed (not play-acted) amateurism or re-proletarianization'.<sup>75</sup> The aesthetic of painters like Stella Vine or Martin Maloney fits neatly within this narrative. The critic Louisa Buck recounted that '[a]ccording to Maloney, Wannabe art is "made with a simplicity of materials and an

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<sup>70</sup> *The Critics* BBC broadcast 5 February 1967, transcript at Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions: Young Contemporaries, 27 January–19 February 1967, TG 92/201/1.

<sup>71</sup> Bruce Laughton, 'Artists with Diplomas', *Arts Review* vol.19 (8 July 1967) 239–50, reproduced in Lisa Tickner, *Hornsey 1968: The Art School Revolution* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008).

<sup>72</sup> Bryan Robertson, 'Foreword,' *Young Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (London, 1969).

<sup>73</sup> Caroline Collier, 'Could do Better', *Studio International*, vol.196 no.1003 (December 1983) (p. 49).

<sup>74</sup> Stuart Morgan, 'The Art World's Grand National: Nicholas Serota's re-shaping of the Turner Prize', *Frieze*, 1 (September 1991), 4–12 (p. 6).

<sup>75</sup> Katy Siegel in 'Survey: Is the art world too professionalized—or not enough?', *Frieze blog* (March 2009) <<http://blog.frieze.com/professionalization>> [accessed 12 August 2012].

imagination spawned in the boom-times. Everything is relaxed: it's OK to be dumb and to like things just because they look good" [...] his paintings are deliberately "bad" [...] and his writing is unashamedly blunt'.<sup>76</sup> This possible end-game of the discourse detailed above suggests that *concern* about professionalism itself influenced young artists' work more than professionalism itself. If there is a causal link, critics could arguably have created the inverse of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Outsider art conventionally satisfies these desires for the 'rough' or 'crude', offering in the words of curator Joanne Cubbs 'a re-entrenchment of those Romantic sentiments that continue to support the notion of original, unmediated expression and the belief in an art which is somehow able to "spring from pure invention"'.<sup>77</sup> So does 'primitive' art, and the cultural theorist Marianna Torgovnick has emphasized that these perceptions are mobile and can attach to other demographics. 'Especially when conventional substitution of females for primitives is avoided', she wrote, 'other, often class, substitutions may occur instead. Frequently, the working class or other subordinated segments of a population become associated or identified with primitives'.<sup>78</sup>

These outsider attributes appear to be expected of young artists. Recurring criticisms of professionalism grow more comprehensible if based on a presumption that the young artist should be a stand-in primitive—a creator characterized by purity and autonomy. See for example the foreword to the 1960 *Young Contemporaries* catalogue by Peter Cresswell, later Dean of Goldsmiths: 'you will see the immature self-expression of the art student [...] here is painting and sculpture without the adornments of professionalism and insincerity, and with the blessing of a certain crudity'.<sup>79</sup> Wyndham Lewis had long before emphasized the constructed nature of these notions: '[t]here is no such thing as the born Primitive,' he wrote in *The Caliph's Design*, describing instead a 'primitive *voulu*, who is simply a pasticheur and a stylist, and invariably a sentimentalist'.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Louisa Buck, *Moving Targets: a User's Guide to British Art* (London: Tate, 1997), p. 147.

<sup>77</sup> Joanne Cubbs, 'Rebels, Mystics and Outcasts: The Romantic Artist Outsider', in *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture*, ed. by Michael D Hall and Eugene W Metcalf Jr. (Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1994), pp. 77–93 (p. 87).

<sup>78</sup> Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 18.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Cresswell, 'Foreword', *Young Contemporaries* 1960, exh. cat. (London: 1960).

<sup>80</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *The Caliph's Design*, ed. by Paul Edwards (Santa Barbara CA: Blue Sparrow, 1986), p. 53. Originally published in 1919.

Such interpretations suggest what Andrew Brighton has called the ‘sentimental attitude’ to the art student in which ‘art education was to be the opposite of academic education [...] a place for educational anomalies, for wonderfully gifted, virtually dumb, perennial adolescents’.<sup>81</sup> In addition to her reading as a display of clichéd amateurism, the style Katy Siegel identified has been read in terms of commodification and the market. The critic James Panero perceived its virtue to be its own ‘anti-quality’, sold so that it can more perfectly function ‘like a junk bond. These objects have little to no intrinsic value [...] From the start its value is purely speculative, because such art doesn’t even have any value as a pleasant or impressive or beautiful thing’.<sup>82</sup> These readings have opposite implication: Panero’s savvy, game-playing young artists would vindicate the lament of professionalism; the other would make it preposterous. As artificial formal embodiments of naïvety, such work is not confined to young artists; artists using a clumsy aesthetic exist across a spectrum of ages.

### Adapting Pedagogy

You have to leave art school at some point. It’s a kind of nursery; it’s a very enabling environment in which to work. You’ve got a laid-on audience, you’ve got laid-on feedback and it’s actually not that difficult in that environment to flourish. So I just think it’s important at some point to get away from that; there has to be a letting go. I think it’s advantageous to actually fly the nest and learn how to be an artist without that kind of support system, because in the end that’s what you have to do.<sup>83</sup>

John Hilliard, 2011

The relative uniformity of pedagogic, critical and cultural aversion to premature exposure to exhibition of work by young artists is striking, but prominent exceptions can nonetheless be found. Certain art schools, or more accurately certain teachers, broke with these conventions: they encouraged or organized exhibiting, hustling, marketing and engagement with the art world. The R.C.A. periodically organized shows of its students’ work, including an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1955, which was noted ‘for the care and

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<sup>81</sup> Andrew Brighton, ‘Art Education and the Scrutineers’, in *The Artist as Teacher. Transcript of a One-Day Conference Held in the Auditorium of the Tate Gallery, Millbank on 1 February 1991* (London: Wimbledon/Tate, 1991), pp. 25–31 (p. 30).

<sup>82</sup> James Panero ‘Cork University Seminar’, in *The State of Art Criticism*, ed. by James Elkins and Michael Newman (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 205.

<sup>83</sup> John Hilliard interviewed by the author (16 August 2011).

indeed the chic with which the exhibits are displayed'.<sup>84</sup> Denis Bowen, a tutor at Hammersmith School of Art, formed the New Vision Group with students and helped to organize exhibitions in Notting Hill from 1951; at Camberwell Carel Weight invited in people from the art world to acclimatize students to working after art school.<sup>85</sup> Research by Hester Westley has documented the effectiveness of Frank Martin in St Martin's in the 1960s, showing how he promoted and encouraged his sculpture students, nurturing their engagement with the art world through encounters with critics, gallery owners and other artists.<sup>86</sup> In 1960 Lawrence Alloway perceived that what Frank Martin was doing '[m]ade the Sculpture Department an analogue of a real studio', a view reiterated by Westley: 'Rather than an art school, it became, for a moment, a studio of professionals. In [Brian] Wall's words: "we're making real artists"'.<sup>87</sup>

Practical signs of the St Martin's enterprise included Anthony Caro's arranging for a visit by Clement Greenberg. Frank Martin enthusiastically kept a catalogue of students to promote the department's importance: it combined head-shots with biographies and images of work, offering a synthesis of artist and work familiar from commercial galleries.<sup>88</sup> Gillian Ayres, who taught painting at St Martin's from 1965, remembered that 'he always had great big photographs of all his famous stars and if anybody applied [...] he would go through what a famous department it was'.<sup>89</sup> The second *New Generation* show at the Whitechapel in 1965 testified to the merits of this approach, and Tim Marlow has demonstrated the prominent role the sculpture department played in shaping the exhibition. Bryan Robertson was guided in the selection process by Caro and Martin, and 'acknowledged that his interest in what was happening in British sculpture had just been strongly aroused by Anthony Caro and by his [Robertson's] visits to St Martin's School of Art'.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Anonymous, 'Royal College of Art Exhibition', *The Times*, Thursday 27 January 1955, p. 10.

<sup>85</sup> See Margaret Garlake, *New Vision 56–66* exh. cat. (Jarrow: Bede Gallery, 1984) <<http://www.thecentreofattention.org/dgnewvision.html>> [accessed 12 August 2012]. Carel Weight interviewed by Cathy Courtney (1991–92), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/07, tape 26 of 47. He describes, for example, arranging for the director of the Colnaghi gallery to visit.

<sup>86</sup> For example in the Sculpture Forum on Fridays, where the guest speakers spanned these spheres. Westley, 'Traditions and Transitions', p. 124.

<sup>87</sup> Westley, 'Traditions and Transitions', p. 109. The Lawrence Alloway quotation comes from 'Upstairs and Downstairs at St Martin's', *Architectural Design* (1960), pp. 479–480.

<sup>88</sup> Westley, 'Traditions and Transitions', p. 108. Westley quotes William Tucker (whom she interviewed on 8 February 2006) 'The visit was a put-up job. Tony Caro paid his fare, but why pay for a critic? It was a kind of promotional thing for Tony'. For Martin's catalogue see *ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>89</sup> Gillian Ayres interviewed by Mel Gooding (1999–2000), British Library *Artists' Lives* Recording C466/91, tape 13 of 19.

<sup>90</sup> Marlow, *The Marketing and Impact of New Generation Sculpture*, p. 4. Six of the nine exhibited sculptors were from St Martin's. Emphasis on St Martin's tutors' influence perhaps reflects a certain modesty on Robertson's part. Philip King's first solo show was at the Heffer's Bookshop Art Gallery in Cambridge in 1957, a gallery

Iterations of the Frank Martin approach can later be seen beyond St Martin's and have since gained momentum<sup>91</sup>. The position is most typically associated with Goldsmiths, of which Jon Thompson said: 'This was the revolutionary aspect of the Goldsmiths approach: that you treat students as if they are artists'.<sup>92</sup> Thompson identified this change by the mid 1970s.<sup>93</sup> Michael Craig-Martin, who taught there in the 1980s and 1990s, denounced the 'romantic fantasy' that the student 'should shut [himself] away from this kind of thing and be "pure"'.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, when Bruce McLean arrived to teach at the Slade he encouraged students to hustle on Cork Street and to get themselves known.<sup>95</sup> If art schools are to produce artists who continue to practice beyond their education, this development must be useful. Iwona Blazwick, in response to the criticisms she fielded regarding the *New Contemporaries* above, asserted the value of quality and polish 'the quality of submissions has become much more professional and I think that's a very, very good and laudable thing [...] I think all of that is crucial in terms of facing the outside world and what's going to happen when people leave college'.<sup>96</sup>

When an art school turns to become outward facing in this way, it does nevertheless risk fragmenting collegiality and heightening rivalry among its students. As such it perhaps conflicts with the more socially-framed conception of purpose, through teaching and industry, which prevailed in the 1950s and 1960s, substituting instead an individualistic emphasis. According to art historian Isabelle Graw:

students are often confirmed in the belief that they must focus above all on marketing and

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Robertson had run before coming to the Whitechapel in 1952. Note also the Kettle's Yard show 45–99 at which Robertson's influence was emphasized. For Robertson's time in Cambridge see Simon Pierce, *Australian Art and Artists in London 1950–65: An Antipodean Summer* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), p. 62.

<sup>91</sup> More recently, Pablo Bronstein, who left the Slade in 2001 and Goldsmiths in 2004, recalled art school having tried to teach students how to be artists professionally. Pablo Bronstein at Met in conversation with Ian Alteveer, Spectrum talk (2 Oct 2009) <<http://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia/video/collections/modern/spectrum-presents-an-evening-with-pablo-bronstein>>. The University of the Arts London for example has an 'Emerging Artists Programme' <<http://www.arts.ac.uk/about/emergingartistsprogramme/>>. [Both accessed 11 August 2012].

<sup>92</sup> Jon Thompson interviewed by John Reardon, *Cb Cb Cb Changes* (London: Ridinghouse, 2009), pp. 342–357 (p. 343).

<sup>93</sup> Jon Thompson, *The Collected Writings of Jon Thompson* (London: Ridinghouse, 2011), p. 426.

<sup>94</sup> 'Inside the Art Schools', BBC Radio 3, broadcast 11 January 2009, quoted in Dan Fox, 'A Serious Business', *Frieze*, 121 (March 2009), 108–113 (p. 113).

<sup>95</sup> Per Lynne Cooke in discussion in *Technique Anglaise: Current Trends in British Art*, ed. by Andrew Renton and Liam Gillick (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), p. 24.

<sup>96</sup> *BT New Contemporaries Open Debate*, Institute of Contemporary Arts, 13 January 1990, British Library Sound Archive F733.

professionalizing themselves by courses that attempt to provide them with personal market strategies. This increasing penetration of market constraints into art academies promotes isolation—instead of trying to gain the approval of a peer group, students tend to feel that they need to concentrate on looking after their own interests.<sup>97</sup>

Nevertheless, the balance of evidence suggests otherwise. In the exhibitions discussed, however ambitious the participating and organizing students were for professional success, a sense of common endeavour and mutual support seems to have been their predominant quality as will be discussed in the following chapter.

### Conclusion

This chapter has rehearsed, and offered explanations for, an art school position of resistance to students exhibiting their work. If, as Howard Singerman has put it, ‘the label professional does not easily correspond to our image of the artist’, these attitudes to exhibition suggest that it corresponds even less easily with our image of the student artist.<sup>98</sup>

Yet despite this consensus, exhibitions of work by students and young artists flourished and became increasingly professional from the early 1950s onwards. Ultimately the impact of this metamorphosis was felt within the art school too, as what would become ‘degree shows’ responded to these changes. In 1965 Bryan Robertson noted a transformation in the character of art schools as their doors opened to the broader art world:

Ten years ago they were private establishments, as it were, mysterious to the outside world and known only to the students concerned and the respective staffs. Now, at end-of-term shows, you find collectors and dealers—and certainly critics—on the prowl, eagerly intent upon a new discovery, anxious to get in on the ground floor of the career of some new and talented artist.<sup>99</sup>

This was a radical change from before, when ‘art students had been more or less confined to an academic ghetto’.<sup>100</sup> Because of the chronology of exhibitions and the substance of the

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<sup>97</sup> Isabelle Graw, *High Price: Art between the Market and Celebrity Culture* (Berlin & New York: Sternberg, 2010), p. 86.

<sup>98</sup> Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> Bryan Robertson and John Russell, *Private View*, p. 137.

<sup>100</sup> Bryan Robertson, typed manuscript in The Personal Papers of Bryan Robertson, Tate Archive TGA 200310 (uncatalogued). This is from a folder marked ‘The Transition from the Fifties to the Sixties 1958–68’, p. 18.

debates rehearsed here, it appears that in the case of exhibitions and art schools, the mountain came to Mohammed: pedagogy did not extend to exhibition, but rather the exhibition extended into the art school.

The following chapter provides a history of the *Young Contemporaries* exhibitions. It describes how the changes *Young Contemporaries* underwent typified the shifting identities of young artists and art school students. It was through such shows that the objections identified in this chapter were overcome.

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Robertson perceived it to be an expression of 'the cult of youth in general and in particular opportunities and even basic status for young artists, half romanticized but also half practical, which did not exist before the 'fifties'.



#### IV. The Young Contemporaries and Beyond:

##### A Historical Overview of Exhibitions for Young Artists in London 1949–1988

###### Introduction

In the end, you can't make painters, you can only make opportunities for them.<sup>1</sup>

James Boswell, 1947

Wow! I thought you had to be thirty or forty before you got somewhere.<sup>2</sup> [speaking about the 1960s]

Jann Haworth, 1999

The preceding chapter offered an account of pedagogic caution regarding the exhibition of young artists' and students' work. This chapter describes a tendency contrary to that art school position: the proliferation of exhibitions for the display and promotion of work by young artists, both grouped by generational cohort, and to a lesser degree as individuals. The former were more significant for this dissertation: such group exhibitions both helped to condense a notion of generation and, further, contributed to the development of a distinct 'career phase' for artists. Moreover, it is in the history of these exhibitions that the transformation of young artists from student amateurs into professionals is most clearly visible.

The *Young Contemporaries* exhibitions are central to the history described in this chapter, and will be considered alongside fluctuating levels of interest shown by commercial galleries. The chapter sketches a timeline for an exhibitionary emphasis on youth, from roots in the early 1950s to a peak spanning the mid 1950s–60s and a dip in the 1970s. The young British artists (Y.B.A.s) of the 1980s and 1990s are most conventionally associated with this phenomenon, and the chapter offers a corrective: a historical view suggests that the 1950s and 1960s eclipsed those decades considerably in terms of their emphasis on young and up-coming artists.<sup>3</sup> This development will be explained, as the product of overlapping shifts in

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret Garlake, *New Art New World: British Art in Postwar Society* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 10. Garlake quotes Boswell's *The Artist's Dilemma* of 1947.

<sup>2</sup> *Groovy Bob: The Life and Times of Robert Fraser*, ed. by Harriet Vyner (London: Faber, 1999), p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 2.

government policy, the art market and the rise of sponsorship in exhibition funding. If the period of the Y.B.A.s was less propitious for young artists than the 1950s and 1960s, it was perhaps because the first of these three elements had diminished by the 1980s.<sup>4</sup>

Whilst the focus of this chapter is on London, the trend was not confined to the capital: the Midland Group in Nottingham hosted a series of *Young Artists From [...]* exhibitions showcasing work from various regions,<sup>5</sup> and after 1961 it also held an annual *Artists of Promise* exhibition, again with rotating geographical emphasis.<sup>6</sup> Similarly the *Northern Young Contemporaries* paralleled London's *Young Contemporaries* from 1965 to 1993. This observation aside, London appears to have been the phenomenon's epicentre. A Parisian observer noted in 1963: 'when I say young painters, I really mean that they are young. In Paris, a young painter is a man in his thirties if not his fifties. In London he is twenty'.<sup>7</sup>

### Young Artist Exhibitions: Historical Background

There is no clear historical moment when galleries began to display the work of young artists in particular. Exhibition opportunities existed within larger open-submission exhibitions, which in some cases were targeted at the young, albeit not exclusively. The first *John Moores* exhibition, held in Liverpool in 1957, expressed in its catalogue preface an ambition 'to encourage contemporary artists, particularly the young and progressive',<sup>8</sup> a statement notable for its conflation of youth with progressiveness. These open exhibitions could introduce work to substantial audiences. The largest, the Royal Academy *Summer Exhibition*, enjoyed a boom at the beginning of this period: the 1955 show drew almost 300,000 visitors, the highest number for fifty years.<sup>9</sup> Bryan Robertson wrote in the same

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<sup>4</sup> See Chin-Tao Wu, *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Intervention Since the 1980s* (London: Verso, 2002). Wu's examples include the Serpentine, whose Arts Council funding dipped and from 1987 onward was 50% reliant on other sources of income (p. 99), and Tate's development of the Patrons of New Art and Patrons of British Art groups in 1982 and 1986 respectively, in response to frozen budgets (p. 103).

<sup>5</sup> South Wales in 1967; the Midlands in 1968.

<sup>6</sup> The R.C.A. and the Slade initially; then Bath, Leeds and Liverpool; then the Midlands; Scotland; Northern Artists.

<sup>7</sup> Michel Ragon, 'Artistic Life in London', in *Cimaise* 10 (January–February 1963) (p. 64).

<sup>8</sup> See Andrew Brighton, 'The John Moores and its Critics', *John Moores 18*, exh. cat., (Liverpool: National Museums, 1993).

<sup>9</sup> Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768–1986* (London: Robert Royce, 1986), p. 176.

year that in London: '[a]ttendance statistics relating to the past three years have shown a real curiosity towards the art of our time and a great desire to appreciate it'.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the elusiveness of a clear 'origin', a flowering of exhibition opportunities specifically for the young can be located broadly between 1950 and 1955. Appendix 2 lists such exhibitions, and indicates the extent of this surge. Precedent exhibitions grouping young artists together had existed as early as 1751, when young artists' exhibitions were held on the feast day of Corpus Christi in the Place Dauphine in Paris.<sup>11</sup> In England in the early twentieth century, the *Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition* of 1927 is a notable and significant precursor; otherwise, the primary means of public display was the student Sketch Club, which was public only in a very limited sense. Ian Tregarthen Jenkin, Principal of Camberwell, recalled Camberwell students in the 1940s holding these exhibitions in the Walmer Castle, a pub on Peckham Road opposite the school.<sup>12</sup> Between 1931 and 1937, Students' Sketch Clubs were held regularly at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. But in contrast to the developments of the 1950s and 1960s, these forerunners were relatively isolated; at most they were individually significant, rather than indicative of any movement or trend. Before 1950, the picture was essentially one of neglect of young artists. Reviewing a thirty-six-year-old painter's exhibition in 1965, the editor of *Studio International* defended the artist's 'late' success: '[n]o one was interested in students' work in those far-off days of 1947'.<sup>13</sup> Bryan Robertson made the same observation, arguing in *The Studio* in 1946 (then only twenty himself) that 'it is time some statement was made on behalf of younger British artists'.<sup>14</sup>

### The Young Artist as Amateur

As significant as the prior neglect of young artists was the prevailing association of youth—and of students particularly—with amateurism. Alongside the new frequency of these exhibitions in the 1950s and 1960s, an entirely different conception of their exhibitors

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<sup>10</sup> Bryan Robertson, 'Introduction', in *Michael Ayrton: Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture, Book Illustration, Theatre Design* '45-'55, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1955), p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Seven such exhibitions were held between 1751 and 1774. See Oskar Bätschmann trans. by Eileen Martin, *The Artist in the Modern World: the Conflict between Market and Self-Expression* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1997). Bätschmann cites Prosper Dorbec, 'L'exposition de la Jeunesse au 18e siècle', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 57 (1905), 456–470.

<sup>12</sup> Ian Tregarthen Jenkin interviewed by Linda Sandino (2002), British Library Artists' Lives recording C466/133, tape 5 side B: 'we used to have sketch club criticisms in there [...] So one got to know the staff tolerably well'.

<sup>13</sup> George Whittet, 'The Growing Art of Michael Tain', *Studio International*, vol.169 no.865 (May 1965) (p. 208).

<sup>14</sup> Bryan Robertson, 'The Younger British Artists', *The Studio*, vol.131 no.636 (March 1946), 65–78 (p. 65).

developed. They came to be framed as professionals, primed for future significance. The story of their transformation into artists proper is told within the history of the *Young Contemporaries* itself. The first *Young Contemporaries* was sponsored by *The Artist* magazine, a publication associated with amateur painting, and from November 1949 to March 1950, it toured venues including the Tredegar Workmen's institute, Cambridge County Girls' School and Chatham Public Library.<sup>15</sup> In 1955, the student chairman of the exhibition wrote a letter to Philip James at the Arts Council discussing possible competing displays: it mentions that an *Amateurs* exhibition (also sponsored by *The Artist*) would close some time before the *Young Contemporaries*. The letter concludes: 'so I do not suppose we shall clash with a similar exhibition as our own'.<sup>16</sup>

The contrast with the situation only seven years later is profound: by 1962 Mark Glazebrook of the Arts Council declined a request from the City of Auckland Art Gallery in New Zealand for a *Young Contemporaries* tour, so busy were the artists the gallery had proposed. Glazebrook's letter lists that the *Young Contemporaries* president, Antony Donaldson, was having a one-man show; that Hockney's work was much in demand; and that Derek Boshier and Jon Thompson were not available, having won scholarships to India and Rome respectively.<sup>17</sup> Nor was this exceptional. Five years later (in 1967) the critic John Russell found that 'From being a students' benefit, for which allowances were gladly made, [the *Young Contemporaries*] became art's equivalent to the yearling sales at Newmarket: people directly concerned—dealers, collectors, museum officials—could not afford to miss it'.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, the objects of this attention used the same sporting analogy. Patrick Procktor wrote: 'I was very aware of doing work in the public view at a young age, and of being speculated on like a horse'.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Arts Council of Great Britain: Records 1928–1997: Hayward Gallery Material: Exhibition Files, Young Contemporaries 1949–69, ACGB 121/1176 In the catalogue for the static 1949 *Young Contemporaries*, Ivor Fox (Chairman of the Young Contemporaries council) thanked the editor of *The Artist* for his support.

<sup>16</sup> Young Contemporaries 1949–69, ACGB 121/1176, folder 2 of 5. Letter from Philip Jones to Philip James dated 10 November 1955.

<sup>17</sup> Young Contemporaries 1949–69, ACGB 121/1176. Letter from Mark Glazebrook to Mr Tomory, director of the City of Auckland Art Gallery dated 17 December 1962.

<sup>18</sup> John Russell, 'London', *Art News*, vol.66 no.1 (March 1967) (p. 56).

<sup>19</sup> Patrick Procktor, *Self Portrait* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), p. 64. Other animal analogies include David Sylvester, 'Dark Sunlight', *Sunday Times Magazine* (2 June 1963), 5–26 (p. 12): 'Young painters always hunt in packs' and Edward Lucie-Smith, 'The Young Painter and His Public', *The Times*, 21 March 1967, p. 10, describing art students as 'the lions and lionesses of our society'.

### The Mid 1950s Change: When Young Exhibitors Became Professionals

In 1953, the art dealer Henry Roland visited a Slade student dormitory, accompanied by William Coldstream. His trip marked something of a turning point in the relationship between art school and dealer, and so also in the relationship between student and professional. His memoirs recall that 'I met a young painter there, Philip Sutton, who pulled a few canvases from under his bed. We took him up there and then'.<sup>20</sup> Jack Smith, who also remembered exhibiting in 1953, his final year at the R.C.A., considered: '[t]hat was a bit unusual as people didn't do that kind of thing'.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps not, but it was rapidly becoming less unusual; Alan Reynolds (also at the R.C.A.) had exhibited the previous year, and Appendix 2 demonstrates that a cohort of young artists were exhibiting while at art school or soon after leaving.

By 1955, Le Roux Smith Le Roux could contrast the newly reinstated *Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition* with its 1927 forerunner: '[s]ince 1927 the artistic climate of Britain has changed significantly [...]. Dealers and art organisations are much more on the look-out for young talent. Painters even in their early twenties achieve fame and have their work acquired by national collections'.<sup>22</sup> Around this time *Young Contemporaries* also began to be associated with the promise of future success. A 1955 review in *The Times* noted that no work was more expensive than £90, much of it being less than £30, 'which may very well no longer be the case when these young painters and sculptors confront the public again in future years'.<sup>23</sup> A much-improved landscape for the young artist appears to have been the consensus view. The same year Bryan Robertson wrote: '[t]here has been a swing of the pendulum since 1945 in favour of the art school student: a great deal has been done, in many ways, to make their lot a happier one and to give them increased opportunities'.<sup>24</sup>

A flurry of critics commented on this sea change at about the same time. David Sylvester

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<sup>20</sup> Henry Roland, *Behind the Façade: Recollections of an Art Dealer* (self-published, 1988), p. 67. This would have been in 1953, although Sutton's first one-man show was not held until 1956. See *Philip Sutton*, exh. cat. (London: Roland Browse and Delbanco, 1956). This account is slightly misleading: it was an exhibition Sutton had set up in a hostel, rather than an impromptu visit: Sylvester, *Dark Sunlight*, p. 26

<sup>21</sup> *Exhibition Road: Painters at the Royal College of Art*, ed. by Paul Huxley, exh. cat. (London: Phaidon, 1988), p. 82.

<sup>22</sup> *Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition*, exh. cat. (London: New Burlington Galleries, 1955), p. 2. Le Roux Smith Le Roux was once Deputy Keeper at the Tate.

<sup>23</sup> Anonymous, 'Young Painters and Sculptors', *The Times*, 1 September 1955, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Bryan Robertson, 'Introduction', *Michael Ayrton: Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture, Book Illustration, Theatre Design '45-'55*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1955), p. 4.

wrote in 1956 '[n]obody can complain nowadays that youth doesn't get its chance',<sup>25</sup> observing the preponderance of young artists in a painting survey at the I.C.A. Lawrence Alloway wrote in 1957: '[i]n London there has been a marked drop in the age at which artists are discovered and shown'.<sup>26</sup> A decade later, Alan Bowness remembered that: 'In the mid 'fifties [*Young Contemporaries*] suddenly became of real importance, a place where new talent could be seen emerging, and the general direction of the immediate future plain'.<sup>27</sup>

From the student perspective, Allen Jones recalled a 'novel situation' in which students like Hockney had contracts with galleries 'before the [Royal] College was up, though you weren't technically supposed to'. He described 'a great moment' characterized by 'good will and a lot of support [...]'. There was just the idea that there was new art and a certain amount of affection towards young or new work'.<sup>28</sup> Jones remembered the remarkable ease with which he passed from expulsion from the R.C.A. in 1960 into a career as an artist: '[a]fter taking a teacher training course I exhibited at the *Young Contemporaries* Show [...]. Then I was offered a contract by Tooth's Gallery, so with the gap of six months I more or less went straight into a deal from art school'.<sup>29</sup> Richard Smith also had his first New York solo show, at the Green Gallery, while he was still a student at the R.C.A. Interviewed in 1965 at the age of thirty-four, he observed (perhaps nervously) that 'in England [...] all painters seem to be under forty. Everybody seems to be very young and somehow when one thinks about British painting, unless you become very historically minded, you don't think about the generation before mine'.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the increasing frequency with which young artists exhibited their work, their youth always seemed new and worthy of comment. Giving an overview of the 1980s thirty years later, the critic Waldemar Januszczak concluded: '[w]hen I asked Alex Gregory-Hood [the Rowan Gallery founder] what the biggest change was that he had noticed in the Eighties he replied that the journey from art school to gallery was now taking no time at all. The paint

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<sup>25</sup> David Sylvester, 'Young English Painting', *The Listener*, vol.55 no.1402 (12 January 1956) (p. 64).

<sup>26</sup> Lawrence Alloway, 'New Faces', *Art News*, May 1957 (p. 57).

<sup>27</sup> Alan Bowness, 'Introduction', *Recent British Painting: Peter Stuyvesant Foundation Collection*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 1967), p. 13.

<sup>28</sup> Allen Jones, interviewed by Marco Livingstone in Marco Livingstone, 'Young Contemporaries at the Royal College of Art 1959–1962: Derek Boshier, David Hockney, Allen Jones, R.B. Kitaj, Peter Phillips' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1976). Appendix, p. 23.

<sup>29</sup> Interviewed in *Image 9* (1973), reprinted in *Towards Another Picture*, ed. by Andrew Brighton and Lynda Morris (Nottingham: Midland Group, 1977), p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Bruce Glaser, '3 British Artists in New York', *Studio International* vol.170 no.871 (November 1965), 178–83 (p. 179).

was hardly dry on their degree shows before the students of yesterday have become the masters of today',<sup>31</sup> a remarkable observation given the Rowan Gallery's importance to young artists and their promotion in the 1960s.

### Roots of The *Young Contemporaries*

In the field of group action among painters the *Young Contemporaries* is far and away the most important thing that has happened in England since the war. And if, fifty years from now, the impression remains that English painting took a turn during the last decade towards something a bit more adult, a bit more professional and a little less precious and pinched than it had been, it may also be seen that the *Young Contemporaries* played a part in this change. The *Young Contemporaries* is a continual reminder to student-painters that the firing-line is a stone's throw away, just as it is also a reminder to older campaigners that they have got to die one day and that it will be sooner for some than for others.<sup>32</sup>

Andrew Forge, 1962

The development of the *Young Contemporaries* sits prominently within the larger exhibition history described in this chapter. In chronological terms, its position at the beginning of the expansion of young artists' shows makes it likely that the success of the exhibition inspired the broader trend. Causes of the *Young Contemporaries* itself are slightly obscure. The exhibition first took place in 1949, quite by accident, when a scheduled exhibition at the Royal Society of British Artists ('R.S.B.A.') galleries fell through, and Carel Weight, then teaching at the R.C.A., suggested the show in its place. A student at the R.C.A., Ivor Fox, was responsible for execution and organization of the exhibition, which was a remarkable success.<sup>33</sup> It attracted 8,000 visitors, 3,063 catalogue sales, and of the 496 works exhibited, 107 sold.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> 'The Eighties' in *Twenty-Five Years: Annely Juda Fine Art / Juda Rowan Gallery, collected commemorative exhibition catalogue of Masterpieces of the Avantgarde shows*, exh. cat., (London: Annely Juda, 1985), pp. 287–294 (p. 294).

<sup>32</sup> Andrew Forge, 'Introduction', *Young Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (London: R.B.A. Galleries, 1962).

<sup>33</sup> Carel Weight, 'Introduction', *Towards Art? An Exhibition showing the contribution which the College has made to the Fine Arts 1952–1962*, exh. cat. (London: Royal College of Art, 1962). Note that references to R.S.B.A., F.B.A. and R.B.A. galleries are to one exhibition space; the F.B.A. is the umbrella institution.

<sup>34</sup> *Young Contemporaries 1949–69*, ACGB 121/1176, folder 1 of 5: Ivor Fox's preliminary report dated 5 May 1949.



Figure 1: Covers for *Young Contemporaries* exhibition catalogues c.1949–1970

Others have claimed responsibility for the exhibition, complicating this account. An art student named Sylvia Wrangham had met with the Arts Council's assistant director in 1946 to propose 'that an exhibition of paintings representative of student work throughout the country might be organized'.<sup>35</sup> Her proposal came close to describing the shape the *Young Contemporaries* would assume. The president of the R.S.B.A. preferred to credit his own institution, and wrote to Philip James in 1953 to take issue with perceived omissions in the foreword to the most recent *Young Contemporaries* catalogue. He complained that the text made 'no mention that the conception of the idea was that of our late President, John Copley nor acknowledges that this Society sponsored it financially [...]'. May I hope that the Arts Council and my Society may work in a friendly spirit since we are both concerned with the encouragement and well-being of young artists?<sup>36</sup> Presumably unsatisfied by the response, he wrote to *The Times* the following year to assert that the R.S.B.A. 'not only

<sup>35</sup> *Young Contemporaries* 1949–69, ACGB 121/1176, folder 1 of 5. Letter dated 13 February 1948 from Sylvia Wrangham to Mr White. Wrangham met White on behalf of the Student Group of the Artists' International Association eighteen months before, in 1946.

<sup>36</sup> *Young Contemporaries* 1949–69, ACGB 121/1176, folder 1 of 5. Letter dated 9 May 1953 from Hesketh Hubbard (President of the R.S.B.A.) to Philip James, Director of the Arts Council. The response from Philip James dated 11 May 1953 suggests that the R.S.B.A. did not sponsor the exhibition (it hired out its galleries for the show for £200). It is possible Hubbard was referring to another exhibition at the R.S.B.A. galleries, the *Under Thirties*, although this was an A.I.A. initiative. That such confusion was possible suggests how prevalent these exhibitions had become.



originated the idea of giving an exhibition of the work of art students from all over the country but makes it possible for them to hold an annual exhibition in these galleries. The society also presents annually a Knapping prize for the best work exhibited by these “young contemporaries”.<sup>37</sup> By the late 1960s, the R.S.B.A. galleries also hosted a rival *Art Colleges Exhibition* in clear competition with the *Young Contemporaries*.<sup>38</sup>

If precise authorship was unclear, motive was perhaps clearer: the impetus behind the *Young Contemporaries* seems to have been philanthropic. The announcement of 1951 described its formation two years earlier in terms of restoring the prospects of artists whose careers had been halted by national service, and in this respect the exhibitions shadowed the ex-servicemen’s grants within the art schools discussed in chapter II. The announcement described its aim ‘to give the majority of exhibitors, who at that exhibition were ex-servicemen and women and who would have been practicing artists by that time, a chance of showing their work before they left their school, a stepping stone as it were between the school exhibition and the larger public exhibitions of one of the Art Societies or the Bond Street galleries’.<sup>39</sup> For Howard Hodgkin, the first *Young Contemporaries* was memorable for the speech made by Sir Philip Hendy, then Director of the National Gallery. It expressed the same sort of sentiment: ‘With extraordinary generosity and frankness and somehow with a lot of sympathy as well, he compared what he felt to be the bleak but possibly heroic fate awaiting us when we left art school to the cosy, hierarchical life of an art historian’.<sup>40</sup>

### A Philanthropic Impetus

Many of these exhibitions shared a concern to ameliorate the difficulties faced by young artists. Slightly before the formation of *Young Contemporaries*, the Artists’ International Association (A.I.A.) showed the *Under Thirties* exhibition in January 1948 and *Young Painters Working in Britain* in June 1949. Its artist chairman, Adrian Heath, framed the displays in

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<sup>37</sup> Hesketh Hubbard, letter to *The Times*, Friday 23 July 1954. The R.B.A. also began encouraging young exhibitors to exhibit in its show in 1962, introducing a special prize for young artists under the age of 28: Anonymous, ‘The Young Artist and the Art Society’, *The Times*, Tuesday 12 June 1962, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> A self-styled ‘answer to the Young Contemporaries’ organized by students who were *not* at the Slade, the Royal Academy, or the Royal College. It was sponsored by a paint firm, Reeves. Per Margaret Richards, ‘Unknown Under’, *The Tribune*, 28 April 1967. <<http://archive.tribunemagazine.co.uk/article/28th-april-1967/18/unknown-under>> [accessed 12 August 2012]. The R.S.B.A. sits within the F.B.A. Because the organizations are affiliated, the galleries referred to are presumably the same spaces.

<sup>39</sup> *Young Contemporaries 1949–69*, ACGB 121/1176, folder 1 of 5.

<sup>40</sup> Letter from Howard Hodgkin to Andrew Lambirth, reproduced in *New Contemporaries 1986: Recent Work from Britain’s Art Schools*, exh. cat. (London: I.C.A., 1986), p. 6.

similar terms: 'It must surely be an advantage for a young artist to find a doorway open before him that is neither officially circumscribed nor controlled by the art market'.<sup>41</sup> Five years after the first *Young Contemporaries*, a group of artists established the Arts Trust, proclaiming its ambition in a letter to *The Times* to be 'to do something to redress, in some measure, the singularly adverse conditions confronting young artists in this country today'.<sup>42</sup>

These examples are also significant because they constitute efforts made by artists for other artists. Frequently artist organizations, such as the A.I.A. or the R.S.B.A., were involved; likewise, artist teachers played a key role in the creation of the *Young Contemporaries*, and later in its regeneration as the *New Contemporaries*, in spite of the pedagogic consensus discussed in the previous chapter. Among immediate artist peers this benevolence is also perceptible: the *Young Contemporaries* jury of 1968 (itself then comprising young artists) contemplated exhibiting all of the submitted work by projecting photographs onto blank walls, suggesting their generosity of spirit.<sup>43</sup> In 1981, the call for submissions specifically advertised that 'we have altered policy and intend to have a running slide show throughout the exhibition of *all* works submitted, even if they do not pass the Selection Committee' (their emphasis).<sup>44</sup>

### The Benefits of Nurturing for Sponsors and State

The philanthropic motive finds greatest emphasis in statements by sponsors. Generational exhibitions for young artists have had much appeal for sponsors, offering another explanation of their success and calling to mind the artist Hans Haacke's commentary on sponsorship: '[t]he American term 'sponsoring' more accurately reflects that what we have here is really an exchange of capital: financial capital on the part of the sponsors and symbolic capital on the part of the sponsored'.<sup>45</sup> The *Young Contemporaries* genus of exhibition proved particularly attractive to sponsors with youth-centric brands. Simon Faulkner has discussed the Peter Stuyvesant Foundation in this light, analyzing the close correlation between the image of young art shows and the brand sought for cigarettes: a

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<sup>41</sup> Adrian Heath, 'Introduction', *A.I.A.* 25, exh. cat. (London: R.B.A. Galleries, 1958).

<sup>42</sup> Letters to the Editor, *The Times*, Saturday 10 July 1954, p. 7. Signatory trustees included Henry Moore, Richard Carline, Julian Trevelyan and Kenneth Rowntree.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Harrison, 'London Commentary', *Studio International*, vol.175 no.898 (March 1968), pp. 140–2 (p. 141).

<sup>44</sup> Circulated by publicity secretary Leonie Starrock, Tate Archive: Institute of Contemporary Arts: Papers relating to the exhibition 'New Contemporaries 1981', TGA 955/7/5/52.

<sup>45</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Hans Haacke, *Free Exchange* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), p. 17.

report for Rothmans in 1963 saw the *New Generation* exhibitions at the Whitechapel as ripe with ‘all the ingredients: art, youth (but not too young), and internationalism’.<sup>46</sup> Stowells, which for a time sponsored the *Stowells Trophy*, and Beck’s, once the funder of the *Beck’s Futures*, are both alcohol brands with much to gain from young consumers and their marketable image. And if exhibition sponsorship is inexpensive relative to other advertising costs, it grows less expensive still for exhibitions of young artists’ work.<sup>47</sup>

Numerous recent examples testify to the enduring success of twinning young exhibitors with certain brands, and the uniformity of sponsors’ forewords might similarly indicate qualities specific to exhibitions of young artists’ work.<sup>48</sup> *The Economic Situation of the Visual Artist*, a Gulbenkian-funded 1985 report, commented on the generic attractiveness of young artists to sponsors: ‘Generally contemporary art sponsorship goes to student exhibitions, competitions or commissions, where costs are low and controversy is mitigated by the educational aspects of a project’.<sup>49</sup> The sponsor’s statement for the 1969 exhibition *When Attitudes Become Form* indicated a how such exhibitions could also confer on their sponsors an innovatory image:

We at Philip Morris feel it is appropriate that we participate in bringing these works to the attention of the public, for there is a key element in this ‘new art’ which has its counterpoint in the business world. That element is innovation—without which it would be impossible for progress to be made in any segment of society. Just as the artist endeavors to improve his interpretation and conceptions through innovation, the commercial entity strives to improve its end product or service through experimentation with new methods and materials.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Simon Faulkner, ‘Art, Cigarettes and Visual Culture in the Sixties: the Peter Stuyvesant Foundation and the ‘New Generation’ Exhibitions 1964–66’, in *Visual Culture in Britain* vol.1 no.1 (2000), 65–88 (p. 75).

<sup>47</sup> Anthony Fawcett (head of public relations at Beck’s) emphasized the economy of sponsoring *Beck’s Futures*. See Louisa Buck, *Moving Targets: a User’s Guide to British Art Now* (London: Tate, 1997), p. 133.

<sup>48</sup> e.g. the *Converse/Dazed Emerging Artists Award* launched in 2010 linking a brand of trainer and a fashion magazine with young artists. Sponsors forewords follow strict conventions at the best of times; here the consistency is even greater. Compare *Bloomberg New Contemporaries 2009*, exh. cat. (London: A Foundation, 2009): ‘It has been a great privilege and inspiration to watch so many recent graduates and fine art students from the UK build international reputations from their first New Contemporaries exhibitions and we are delighted to be continuing our support’ with *Beck’s Futures, 2006*, exh. cat. (London: I.C.A., 2006): ‘Beck’s Futures allows us to support and exhibit emerging UK artists at a critical point in their careers’. Or similarly Peter Leslie in *Barclays Young Artist Award*, exh. cat. (London: Serpentine Gallery, 1991), p. 7: Barclays sought ‘to provide support for artists emerging from their postgraduate studies with challenges both creative and financial before them’.

<sup>49</sup> *The Economic Situation of the Visual Artist*, ed. by Richard Hoggart (London: Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), p. 115.

<sup>50</sup> John A. Murphy, ‘Sponsor’s Statement’, *When Attitudes Become Form*, reprinted in *Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 885–886 (p.886).

## State Funding

Beyond the serendipity of their sponsor appeal, exhibitions in the mould of the *Young Contemporaries* were well suited to public funding. Jennie Lee, soon to be first Arts Minister in Harold Wilson's government, observed in her White Paper of 1965: '[a]t present the young artist, having finished his schooling, has still to gain experience and has difficulty in obtaining employment [...]. Painters, poets, sculptors, writers and musicians are sometimes lost to art for a comparatively small sum of money which would support their start in life'. The report went on to argue that '[b]y far the most valuable help that can be given to the living artist is to provide him with a larger and more appreciative public'.<sup>51</sup>

This White Paper, *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps*, accompanied a 400% increase in Arts Council funds for young artists' assistance from £10,000 to £50,000.<sup>52</sup> It offers a wider context for the growing incidence of exhibitions for the young: in the wake of expanding higher education, many were concerned about the viability of an expanding population of artists. A *Times* editorial of 1958, titled 'Future of the Art Schools', suggested that 'there are too many young people studying art, not many of whom will be able to earn their living at it, and some of whom are amateurs'.<sup>53</sup> In a 1961 lecture to Slade students, Reg Butler painted just such a picture: he told them the art student would 'acquire little if anything which will enable him to earn his living at the work he has chosen, and suddenly the course is over and the support withdrawn'.<sup>54</sup> Eight years later, a 1969 cartoon strip in the *Sunday Times Magazine* called 'The Weary Pilgrimage of Fred Blenkinsop' dedicated three pages (plus the magazine's cover) to the failure of a fictitious promising artist who, having won a place at the R.C.A. and exhibited in the *Young Contemporaries*, found himself with merely a half-day a week teaching job. The closing caption stated: 'After 7 years of training our hero cannot earn a living'.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Jennie Lee, *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps* cmd. 2601 (London: H.M.S.O., 1965), paragraphs 83 and 88 respectively. Lee became Minister of the Arts in 1967.

<sup>52</sup> Lisa Tickner, 'The Kasmin Gallery', *Oxford Art Journal* (February 2007), 235–268 (p. 245).

<sup>53</sup> Anonymous, 'Future of the Art Schools', *The Times*, 18 January 1958, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Reg Butler, *Creative Development: Five Lectures to Art Students, given at the Slade School in June 1961* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 69.

<sup>55</sup> Robert Lacey / Frank Bellamy, 'The Weary Pilgrimage of Fred Blenkinsop', *Sunday Times Magazine*, 5 October 1969, Tate archive: Robert Fraser Gallery: Press Cuttings, TGA 200329/1/29. It is unclear whether it is a coincidence that Arthur Blenkinsop was the name of a Labour M.P. in the 1950s and 1960s who had been involved with the North Eastern Association for the Arts. Given the name and region, perhaps not.

### A Warning with Precedent

*The Times* had been voicing these thoughts as early as 1950, when an anonymous correspondent wrote of the ‘inexhaustible supply of competent artists’ as ‘painting has become a great deal too interesting and attractive an occupation for the good of the state or of those who practice it’.<sup>56</sup> Less than two months later in an article with the unequivocal headline ‘Too Many Art Students’, Sir Gerald Kelly was reported saying similar at the annual meeting of the Artists’ General Benevolent Institution.<sup>57</sup> This notion of over-saturation was, something of a relic. Marcus Huish had asked: ‘Whence this Great Multitude of Painters?’ at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup> In the 1930s, a survey of British Art spoke of a ‘crisis of over-production and under-consumption’,<sup>59</sup> and it was suggested that to ease the fine art bottleneck ‘these very clever students should direct their efforts away from the idea of picture painting and go into the decorative and industrial arts’.<sup>60</sup> Artistic production exceeding capacity to consume was therefore a longstanding anxiety. Only the context of the 1950s and 1960s was new: increasing quantities of art school students, whose more diverse backgrounds made earning a living a more urgent question for many.<sup>61</sup> This probably inspired a more intensive search for a solution. Unless art schools’ admissions were to be restricted, the development of patronage was essential, requiring a system through which students and young artists could be introduced into a supportive art industry.

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<sup>56</sup> Anonymous, ‘Students’ Work at R.B.A. Galleries’, *The Times*, 23 January 1950, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> Anonymous, ‘Too Many Art Students’, *The Times*, 2 March 1950, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Marcus Huish, ‘Whence This Great Multitude of Painters’, *Nineteenth Century*, 32 (1892), 720

<sup>59</sup> Roger Hinks, ‘Patronage in Art To-day’, in *Art in England*, ed. by R.S. Lambert (London: Pelican, 1938), pp. 73–77 (p. 73).

<sup>60</sup> Anonymous, ‘The Changing Aspect of Art: Sir William Llewellyn’s Advice to Young Painters’, *The Times*, Thursday 1 March 1934, p. 9. Llewellyn was Chair of the Artists’ General Benevolent Institution.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter II. The increased availability of higher education and art school discussed in that chapter logically would diversify the student population. However, cases have been made against this. The art historian Peter Smith has argued that despite a progressive institutional image art schools had a strikingly homogeneous student population. Smith also highlights racial and gender failures too: ‘the art school has been a place which neither attracted, nor wanted ethnic minorities’: Peter Smith, ‘Art into Capital’, *Oxford Art Journal* vol.12 no.1 (1989), 60–66 (p. 62). J.H. Farrant made the same point about universities more generally, suggesting in 1981 that ‘the social composition of the university intake has scarcely changed over 25 years, even though by the later years the universities had been augmented by new foundations and the ex-C.A.T.s’. J.H. Farrant, ‘Trends in Admissions’, in *Access to Higher Education*, ed. by Oliver Fulton (London: Leverhulme, 1981). In some ways reinforcing this are the strikingly unprogressive gender attitudes seen in art schools. E.g. Reg Butler, *Creative Development: Five Lectures to Art Students, given at the Slade School in June 1961* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962).

### Policy: Promoting the Future

The rise of shows of young artists' work is consistent with a surge in post-war, state-sponsored exhibitions promoting Britain's future across various sectors which were roughly contemporary with the original *Young Contemporaries*. Isabelle Moffat sketched these shows as a context for Richard Hamilton's *Growth and Form* exhibition of 1951. They included *Britain Can Make It* (1948), *How Goes Britain* (1948), as well as scientific shows such as *Chemistry at Your Service* (1946), the *Women's First Electrical Exhibition* (1945), and the *Jet Exhibition* (1947).<sup>62</sup> The *Festival of Britain* (1951) was another notable (and artistic) example. At the time, a 1948 article in the magazine *Art and Industry* perceived this new tendency among government departments and across industry to promote progress, and asked: 'What about the art schools? Is it not equally important that they should tell the public what they are achieving [...]?' It concluded, 'if the art schools are to play their full part in the life of the community they cannot afford to neglect their public relations. [...] There should be frequent exhibitions and displays of the students' work, not only at the art school itself but also as part of local exhibitions'.<sup>63</sup>

Promotion of these exhibitions therefore reflected an appetite for innovation and progress, and for stimulating Britain's various industries; young artists offered the closest analogue to the projections offered by the scientific, futuristic type of exhibition listed above. As *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps* itself argued in 1965, art students could improve Britain's prospects too: 'the Royal College of Art has shown how immediate an influence a leading educational institution can have not only on the standards of individual artistic achievement but on the quality of design in commerce, fashion and industry'.<sup>64</sup> The art historian Lisa Tickner has recently framed the promotion of Pop similarly, using *Ambassador Magazine* to narrate the extension of Britain's 1960s export drive to art.<sup>65</sup>

Exhibition of work by young artists therefore fitted well with prevailing missions of various public institutions. Correspondingly, the programme of the I.C.A. was heavily populated from the 1950s and throughout the 1960s with exhibitions of young artists' work. In the foreword of the catalogue for *Five Painters* (1958), the Director of the National Gallery Philip

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<sup>62</sup> Isabelle Moffat, "'A Horror of Abstract Thought': Postwar Britain and Hamilton's 1951 "Growth and Form" Exhibition', *October*, vol. 94 (autumn 2000), 89–112 (p. 96).

<sup>63</sup> Leslie Hardern, 'Art Schools and Public Relations', *Art and Industry*, vol.45 no.269 (November 1948), 190–193 (p.190).

<sup>64</sup> Jennie Lee, *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps*, cmnd. 2601 (London: H.M.S.O., 1965), at paragraph 64.

<sup>65</sup> Lisa Tickner, "Export Britain": Pop Art, Mass Culture and the Export Drive', *Art History* (April 2012), 394–419.

Hendy implied that this function was constitutional, writing: 'I welcome this exhibition of the young unknown. Since the foundation of the Institute ten years ago it has been one of our fundamental aims to hold such exhibitions'.<sup>66</sup> His belief was supported by the I.C.A.'s emphasis on early-career artists. For example, of the eight artists given solo exhibitions in 1955, only one had previously had a solo show in London.<sup>67</sup> Margaret Garlake has pointed particularly to Herbert Read's and Roland Penrose's preoccupation with young, unestablished artists at the I.C.A.: Penrose advocated annual *New Trends* in painting and sculpture exhibitions which would give prizes to promising artists, and in 1951 Herbert Read 'suggested that every year, during a peak exhibition period, there should be an exhibition of contemporary British work, with particular emphasis on young artists'.<sup>68</sup>

The Arts Council itself, however, came around to the idea of exhibiting young artists' work more slowly. The Arts Council's status as an early and significant collector of young artists' work is discussed in the following chapter. Initial discussions of its exhibition policy give remarkably little hint of this innovative collecting practice. Minutes of a meeting of the Art Panel of the Arts Council in 1948 record: 'the Director reported an increasing demand that the council should exhibit the work of young unestablished painters. The Chairman [Kenneth Clark] thought that the point was not whether young painters should be encouraged but whether their work was good enough to be shown. Mr [Percy] Jowett said that plenty of opportunities were given to those painters to exhibit in the various societies' exhibitions'.<sup>69</sup> This position did not survive the 1950s, and its reversal (partly through the I.C.A.) was underway by 1955.

As well as the collecting practices detailed in the following chapter, other Arts Council enterprises of the late 1960s indicated that the Council had become interested in young artists. The Hayward was established in 1968, and the Serpentine was transformed from a tea-house into a gallery in 1970. The inaugural Serpentine exhibition was *First Show*, which displayed post-diploma paintings, sculpture and prints from Chelsea, Manchester and Birmingham schools of art. The exhibition reflected the Serpentine's concern to 'provide young artists with much-needed exhibition space to show their work, and a location which would bring such work to the attention of the wider public [...] to provide spaces for artists

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<sup>66</sup> *Five Painters*, exh. cat. (London: I.C.A., 1958).

<sup>67</sup> Margaret Garlake, 'The Relationship Between Institutional Patronage and Abstract Art in Britain c.1945–1956' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1987), p. 483. The one artist with a prior London solo show was Kit Barker.

<sup>68</sup> Garlake, p. 466. The statement is from the I.C.A. Management Committee Minutes of 23 May, 1951.

<sup>69</sup> Garlake., p. 377 The quotation is from the minutes of the Art Panel of Arts Council meeting of 19 April 1948.

aged between 25 and 35, who without the reputation to command a one-man exhibition in a commercial London gallery [...] have little occasion to show work'.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps to a lesser degree, exhibitions at the Hayward also featured young artists: *Six at the Hayward* of 1969 was one such exhibition early in the gallery's history.<sup>71</sup>

Enterprises such as the A.I.R. gallery had similar goals. It was established in 1975 on Shaftsbury Avenue and named after its genesis initiative: the Artists' Information Registry. According to member Mary Rose Beaumont, it had a 'role at which it had aimed since its inception, that is to give exhibitions to young, unestablished artists who were without a gallery, to give them an opportunity of showing their work in public for the first time'.<sup>72</sup> Its programme comprised small group shows of two or three artists, but it also hosted a Winsor and Newton-sponsored exhibition of paintings by final-year students from art schools in London and the South East.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the Camden Arts Centre had a policy of giving its spaces to up-and-coming artists over the summer, as in 1969 when John Hilliard exhibited there aged twenty-four.

Motivations of state and sponsors were evidently quite different. However, for both the relative immunity from criticism offered by patronage of young artists may also have appealed. As *The Economic Situation of the Visual Artist* argued, involvement of the young coupled with proximity to education offered exhibitions of young artists' work a layer of goodwill, partially protecting against the types of accusations that typically accompany use of public or shareholder money in the arts. Naturally there were exceptions. *The South Wales Echo* in 1967 viewed the touring exhibition of the *Young Contemporaries* as an 'infantile collection of nonsensical junk and fat-headed twaddle'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Robin Campell, 'Foreword', *First Show: Post-Diploma Work from Chelsea, Manchester and Birmingham*, exh. cat. (London: Serpentine, 1970). Campell was director of Arts Council Great Britain in 1970.

<sup>71</sup> Three of the six were in their twenties (Stephen Buckley, Barry Flanagan and Keith Milow); the other three were in their thirties (Victor Newsome, Michael Sandle and Ian Stephenson). How revolutionary the availability of such space was bears emphasis. B. Ifor Evans and Mary Glasgow, *The Arts in England: A Study in Recent Organisation* (London: Falcon, 1949), at p. 52 indicate how barren London had been only twenty years earlier. They wrote that the Tate, Victoria and Albert Museum and National Gallery had 'recently opened their doors to visiting exhibitions which may be seen from time to time in addition to their permanent collections', but found 'no single small gallery under public ownership available for seasonal exhibitions'.

<sup>72</sup> Mary Rose-Beaumont, 'Introduction,' *10 Years at AIR: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. (London, 1985).

<sup>73</sup> Mary Rose-Beaumont, 'Introduction'.

<sup>74</sup> John Holliday, 'Would You Pay £100 For This Load of Rubbish?', *South Wales Echo*, Wednesday 29 November 1967, reviewing *Young Contemporaries* in the Turner House Gallery, Penarth. *Young Contemporaries 1949–69*, ACGB 121/1176, file 5 of 5.



## The Art Market and the Rise of Young Artist Exhibitions

The most important development in British painting is the emergence of commercial dealers prepared to market the work of young painters and particularly the post-war abstract painters.<sup>75</sup>

Peter Lanyon, 1961

Exhibiting young artists' work was often unprofitable, and for many of these shows commercial galleries served an almost public role, occasionally even overlapping, or swapping with, public galleries' exhibitions. From 1950 until 1959 the commercial gallery Gimpel Fils held small group shows of between four and nine artists from the *Young Contemporaries*, recruiting an artist, a collector, a dealer and a critic to make the selection much like the *Young Contemporaries* itself. Thereafter, the exhibition reverted to the I.C.A. as the *Four Young Painters* series. The *Young and Fantastic* exhibition of 1969 was organised through the I.C.A. by Roland Penrose and Mario Amaya, a curator of the Art Gallery of Ontario, yet was displayed at Macy's in New York and Eaton's in Toronto rather than in a public gallery. The significance of this border obfuscation is a merging of this section into the discussion in the first half of this chapter: if the art market played a role in this history, it did so partly by behaving uncommercially.

To this end, the idealism of certain dealers is striking—as well as their willingness to take risks. Nigel Greenwood, who ran the Axiom gallery before opening his own eponymous gallery, expressed an array of public-spirited sentiments. In interview he said, '1967/68 were days of idealism', asking, 'who needs galleries [...] temples to consumerism and capitalism?'.<sup>76</sup> A *Times* feature in 1965 emphasized the commercial bravery of various dealers. They included Halima Nalecz at the Drian Gallery who launched Douglas Portway and gave John Bellany, William Crozier and Michael Sandle their first exhibitions while they were still young;<sup>77</sup> Erica Brausen at the Hanover Gallery; and Annely Juda at the Molton (subsequently Hamilton) Gallery. Before it closed in 1965, Helen Lessore's Beaux Arts

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<sup>75</sup> Peter Lanyon in *London Magazine*, July 1961 reprinted in Brighton and Morris, *Towards another Picture*, p. 131.

<sup>76</sup> Nigel Greenwood, quoted in Sophie Richard, *Unconcealed: the International Network of Conceptual Artists 1967–77* (Norwich: Ridinghouse, 2008), p. 118.

<sup>77</sup> She had formed the New Vision Centre Gallery with Denis Bowen and Frank Avery Wilson as an enterprise to promote new, unrecognized artists alongside more known veterans. See Anonymous, 'Obituaries: Halima Nalecz: painter and gallery proprietor', *The Times*, 23 October 2008. William Crozier (b.1930) had a solo show in 1958; John Bellany (b.1942) in 1970.

Gallery nurtured among others John Bratby, Derrick Greaves, Frank Auerbach, Michael Andrews, Sheila Fell, Edward Middleditch and Jack Smith.<sup>78</sup>

Annely Juda stated the mission expressly: 'My policy is to have young painters and stick my neck out. I've given big shows to Turnbull, Bernard Cohen and Robin Deny [sic] and I launched the Indian painter Chandra here'.<sup>79</sup> Slightly later was Angela Flowers, who recalled: 'I knew I wanted a gallery, and why: to help younger artists to have exhibitions, to show others who had had galleries but were no longer exhibiting'.<sup>80</sup> Her gallery was indeed founded by association with a non-commercial body, the A.I.A.; A.I.A.'s Chair Adrian Heath offered a room rent-free in their Lisle Street premises if artists to be exhibited by Flowers were signed-off by the A.I.A.<sup>81</sup> A profile of the gallery in 1983 recorded: '[t]he aim of the gallery was—and still is—to show the work of younger British artists'.<sup>82</sup> A generous sentiment still features prominently in coverage of such galleries.<sup>83</sup> And indeed this charitable impulse was there from the beginning: the foreword of the *Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition* of 1927 proclaimed the need 'to help the artists to sell their works to members of the general public' and, with laudable commitment to its rhetoric, took no commission on sales.<sup>84</sup>

From the other side, public galleries also came closest to accepting commercial activity when exhibiting young artists' work. A letter from the then Deputy Keeper of the Tate to Gus Cummins, a member of the 1967 *Young Contemporaries* committee, illustrates one such uneasy compromise. He wrote: '[t]he trustees realize that [the sale of works from the show] is of great importance to your exhibitors, but it is, in fact, a practice which we do not normally allow. However, on the understanding that no prices are printed in the catalogue, and that the selling is carried out by means of a list kept at the catalogue desk, the Trustees

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<sup>78</sup> Anonymous, 'Young Artist Gallery is Closing', *The Times*, Tuesday 28 April 1964, p. 6.

<sup>79</sup> Anonymous, 'Gallery Owners—Swayed by the Heart', *The Times*, Monday 16 August 1965, p. 11.

<sup>80</sup> Angela Flowers, 'Anniversary: Angela Flowers Recounts her Experience as a London Gallery Owner', *Art and Artists*, 237 (June 1986), 18–21 (p. 18).

<sup>81</sup> In return for a commission on sales.

<sup>82</sup> Anonymous, 'Inside Looking Out', *Studio International*, vol.196 no.1000 (July 1983), 30–46 (p. 34).

<sup>83</sup> The majority of the press reports of the recent *Anticipation* exhibitions, for instance, mentioned that the exhibition took no commission on sales. See Etan Smallman, 'Kay Saatchi, Aunty to the Student Art Scene', *The Times*, 16 July 2008; Simon Davis, 'In Search of the Next Big Thing', *The Evening Standard*, 23 May 2007; and Louis Jury, 'Best of Britain's Young Artists in Saatchi Show', *The Evening Standard*, 24 June 2008.

<sup>84</sup> R.H. Wilenski, 'Foreword', *Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition*, exh. cat. (London: R.S.B.A. Galleries, 1927).

will be pleased to allow you to make sales'.<sup>85</sup> The point is not one of commercialization *per se*, as this is not a situation in which public galleries took commission on sales, but it is difficult to imagine circumstances apart from the display of young or emerging artists in which such exceptions would be tolerated.

Notwithstanding these ambiguities of public and private, private commercial galleries appear to have been instrumental in the shift towards exhibiting younger artists' work. From 1932 onward the Leicester Galleries ran an annual exhibition titled *Artists of Fame and Promise*; though far from exclusively for the young, the series established the practice of lending relatively unknown artists kudos through display alongside artists with more established careers. Trading work by established artists (often on the secondary market) often subsidizes newer talent: the American critic Dave Hickey recently said of his own dealing experience that, '[t]he front room was a loss-leader; a piece of installation art with toasters toasting and blenders blending that nobody had the faintest interest in selling or buying, to lure people into the back room to the Judds and Twomblys'.<sup>86</sup> The compensation for deploying less-established artists to maintain a gallery's avant-garde credentials is the support dealers offer, a model which renders the commercial gallery something of a saviour for young artists. A director of the Redfern Gallery, Harry Tatlock Miller, recalled that when he offered Patrick Procktor his first solo show in 1963, '[w]atching him was like seeing a swimmer sighting the security of land'.<sup>87</sup>

Overall, the number of galleries interested in young artists grew significantly in the 1960s. There are precedents in the Carfax, Leicester, Chenil and Redfern galleries, which showed Harold Gilman, Spencer Frederick Gore and Paul Nash at young ages, but they compare neither in scale nor continuity with the galleries of the 1950s and 1960s. A snapshot of the new abundance is given by a 1967 guidebook titled *Art Centres of the World: London* compiled

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<sup>85</sup> Letter dated 19 December 1966 to Gus Cummins, Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions/Young Contemporaries, 27 January–19 February 1967, TG 92/201/1.

<sup>86</sup> Dave Hickey, 'Schoolyard Art: Playing Fair Without the Referee', Frieze talk of 12 October 2007, in Neville Wakefield, Jennifer Higgie and others, *Frieze Projects; Frieze Talks 2006–2008* (London: Frieze, 2009), pp. 215–219 (p. 219). Vindicating Hickey, Beaux Arts closed because of its lack of profitability dealing in the unestablished artists alone. Some galleries paid their artists a stipend or salary, a practice pioneered by Marlborough and later adopted at Rowan. Paul Moorhouse, 'Strange Consolation: The Art of Michael Andrews', in *Michael Andrews*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 2001), pp. 9–39 (p. 15) offers an example of an artist being sent periodic support

<sup>87</sup> letter from Harry Tatlock Miller to Bryan Robertson, quoted in Ian Massey, *Patrick Procktor, Art and Life* (London: Unicorn Press, 2010), p. 54.

by a former editor of *Studio International*.<sup>88</sup> Beyond those galleries typically associated with this moment—Robert Fraser and Kasmin—the book includes the Redfern Gallery, whose directors’ ‘avowed policy is to encourage the up-and-coming artist. This they have done in a series of one-man exhibitions of works by such as Bryan Kneale and Geoffrey Clarke, two of the most important younger British sculptors, and promising [...] painters such as Patrick Proctor’, and the Mercury Gallery, ‘run by Mr and Mrs Raffles who specialize in one-man exhibitions by artists of promise’.<sup>89</sup> The book also lists the Molton Gallery, ‘opened in 1960, initially in association with Mrs Juda [...] the gallery [...] frequently gives promising young artists their first opportunity of a one-man show’.<sup>90</sup> In addition the Zwemmer Gallery was an early promoter of young artists which gave Morley Bury, Alistair Grant and Peter Coker their first one-man shows.<sup>91</sup> As mentioned above, Roland, Browse and Delbanco periodically gave solo shows to a few relatively unknown artists, such as Philip Sutton and Norman Adams.

Carel Weight described this abundance in the same year, and remarked on how starkly it differed from what he had known as a young artist:

‘If you haven’t hit the jackpot by the time you are twenty-five, you’ve had it’, said the ambitious young painter and I could not help thinking back to the ’thirties when I was a student, when London was an artistic backwater boasting of about a dozen dealers’ galleries, none of which would seriously consider giving an exhibition to a young painter emerging from art school. The ’sixties have produced a very different picture; there are at least a hundred galleries and the hunt for the young genius has until very recently been the order of the day.’<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> G.S.Whittet, *Art Centres of the World: London* (New York: World Publishing, 1967). This being a guidebook, it is perhaps fitting that Whittet was editor when *Studio* became *Studio International*.

<sup>89</sup> Whittet, *Art Centres*, p. 159.

<sup>90</sup> Whittet, *Art Centres*, p. 171.

<sup>91</sup> Nigel Vaux Halliday, *More than a Bookshop: Zwemmer’s and Art in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Philip Wilson, 1991), p. 235.

<sup>92</sup> Carel Weight, ‘Retrospect’, in *Queen*, 21 June 1967, 41–45. This was a special issue dedicated to the R.C.A.

### Context: An Art Market Boom



Figure 2: Number of public and private galleries listed in *Art News and Review* magazine from 1949 to 1968.<sup>93</sup>

Notwithstanding the financial risk associated with this artist demographic, the new commercial embrace of young artists can be explained partly in terms of supply and demand. An art-market boom was underway, prompting *The Times* to run a two-part feature on London as the ‘World’s Greatest Art Market’ in 1958.<sup>94</sup> Various events have been taken to signal the onset of the boom. *Fortune* Magazine located it in May 1952, when the Galerie Charpentier auctioned off the collection of Gabriel Cognacq,<sup>95</sup> while Lillian Browse cited the famous Goldschmidt sale at Sotheby’s on 15 October 1958, taken to signal the art market’s embrace of black-tie, celebrity and television cameras.<sup>96</sup> Robert Hughes situated the paradigm shift slightly later, with the Mona Lisa’s visit to New York in 1962.<sup>97</sup> Figure 2 reproduces a graph showing the number of galleries listed in the magazine *Art News and Review* from 1949 to 1968 as a visual demonstration of the expansion across this period; whatever the exact ‘moment’, the graph illustrates how an increasing appetite for art and a growth in the art market manifested itself in London. Interestingly, during the same period

<sup>93</sup> Reproduced from David Fraser Jenkins and Sarah Fox-Pitt, *Portrait of the Artist: Artists’ Portraits Published by Art News and Review 1949–60*, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 1989).

<sup>94</sup> ‘World’s Greatest Art Market I’, *The Times* 17 October 1958, p. 13. and ‘World’s Greatest Art Market II’, *The Times* 18 October 1958, p. 7.

<sup>95</sup> Sophy Burnham, *The Art Crowd* (New York: David McKay, 1973), p. 52.

<sup>96</sup> ‘But the real price explosion did not occur until the advent of Sotheby’s Goldschmidt sale in 1958 from which moment art became big business’ Lillian Browse, ‘Some Memories of the London Art World’, *Burlington Magazine* vol.127 no.990 (1985), 612. The star lots were impressionist works.

<sup>97</sup> Robert Hughes, *The Mona Lisa Curse*. Dir. Mandy Chang, first broadcast on Channel Four, 21 September 2008.

the Betting and Gaming Act of 1960 also facilitated speculation and gambling more generally.<sup>98</sup> In such an environment, finding a new pool of contemporary artists making saleable work could be a little like opening a casino.

Added to growth in demand was the appeal of the relative cheapness of work by unestablished artists, not to mention the ease of dealing in commodities where authenticity and provenance were not an issue.<sup>99</sup> Helen Lessore at Beaux Arts recalled:

I hadn't enough money to deal in first class pictures by established artists and so I felt that there was nothing for it but to look for talent among the younger ones [...]. I went to my old art school, the Slade, at the time when the summer compositions were hanging up, and there I was lucky enough to find a picture by Michael Andrews [...]. On the strength of that one picture, I offered him a one-man show whenever he could be ready.<sup>100</sup>

This was not for six years, although Derrick Greaves's first exhibition with Helen Lessore in 1953 opened only three weeks after she first visited his studio.<sup>101</sup>

As discussed above, the ambiguity between public and commercial exhibitions in the display of young artists' work partially derived from public galleries operating quasi-commercially: for example the 1961 *Young Contemporaries* was where Hockney famously sold 'Doll Boy' to Kasmin. As such, these exhibitions appear to have been an important initiation into the idea of an art market for many participants: John Bratby recalled that before exhibiting in the *Young Contemporaries* he had 'never sold a work: the idea was preposterous and remote'.<sup>102</sup>

Group shows of young artists have since become more overtly entwined with the art market. In the 1980s even secondary market institutions were involved, as Bonhams and

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<sup>98</sup> Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs* (London: Collins, 1969), p. 48. This came into effect in May 1961 and made various types of gambling legal, although with tight restrictions by today's standards.

<sup>99</sup> The presumption that younger artists' work is cheaper has been supported by Olav Velthuis's statistical analysis of New York and Dutch art markets. Velthuis concluded that 'works of older artists are more expensive than the works of their younger colleagues. Every year of age difference equals a price gap [...] although there is no reason to expect that collectors have a general preference for older rather than younger artists, older artists have had more time to enhance their visibility, reputation, and therefore the demand for their output'. See Olav Velthuis, *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 107–8. This correlation must nevertheless be stretched where young artists are afforded attention for their very youth: by middle age, artists have less of a 'potential' premium, and their work has less time to realize its 'future value', thus it can dip in price: the secondary market often proffers once-promising artists' work for insubstantial prices.

<sup>100</sup> *Studio International*, February 1968 reprinted in Brighton and Morris, *Towards another Picture*, p. 68.

<sup>101</sup> James Hyman, *Derrick Greaves: From Kitchen-Sink to Shangri-La* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007), p. 40.

<sup>102</sup> John Bratby on the *Young Contemporaries* reproduced in Andrew Lambirth, 'Introduction', *New Contemporaries 1986: Recent Work from Britain's Art Schools*, exh. cat. (London: I.C.A., 1986), p. 10.

Christie's mounted exhibitions of highlights from art school degree shows. By the 1990s a full art fair for student art had been created: *Fresh Art*, held at the Islington Design Centre in 1991 and 1992, was a trade fair at which art schools bought stands.<sup>103</sup> The art historian Martin Postle was struck by 'the whole idea of marketing art students in the manner of vendors at a fish stall: "Fresh art, come and get it while the paint's still wet"'.<sup>104</sup>

More recent iterations appear to focus as much on the novelty of the gallery as the artist, although frequently the two overlap. Examples include the *Zoo Art Fair*, which since 2004 has showcased younger artists and newer galleries than the contemporaneous *Frieze Art Fair*, or *Liste*, founded in 1996 as a more youthful breakaway from Art Basel. They indicate the marketability of young artists once again, and as commercial fairs are without historical precedent. Their closest precursor was not an art fair but a Biennale, perhaps narrating a transition from public to commercial in microcosm. The *Biennale de Paris / Biennale des Jeunes* was dedicated to the promotion of young artists aged between twenty and thirty-five, 'un lieu de rencontre et d'expériences pour les jeunes, un lieu ouvert aux incertitudes et aux espoirs', according to its first catalogue in 1959.<sup>105</sup> It extended its youthful urge to selectors: for the second Biennale much was made of the fact that the three selectors for Britain—Lawrence Alloway, Alan Bowness and the *Times* art critic David Thompson—were themselves under thirty-five, too.<sup>106</sup>

### The Art School and the Exhibition Space: Kinship and Structural Affinities

The structural and symbolic kinship between art schools and exhibition spaces has a long—if frequently accidental—history. This history arguably makes young artists' work an unsurprising exhibition grouping and goes some way towards mitigating the pedagogic resistance to exhibition discussed previously. From its foundation in 1768, the Royal Academy quickly united learning with display and offers a startlingly early instance in the UK of a school's relationship with the market: at its beginning, classes (and Sir Joshua

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<sup>103</sup> See also larger fairs such as *NEXT* art fair in Chicago. This has run since 2008 and showcases emerging artists exclusively: <[www.nextartfair.com](http://www.nextartfair.com)> [accessed 12 August 2012].

<sup>104</sup> Martin Postle, 'The price of fish: 'Fresh Art' and art school degree shows', *Apollo*, 134 (October 1991), 285–6 (p. 285).

<sup>105</sup> Raymond Cogniat, 'Preface,' *Première Biennale de Paris 1959*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne, 1959), p. 7.

<sup>106</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes. Progress Report of the 75<sup>th</sup> meeting of the British Council Fine Arts Committee, 17 December 1961.

Reynolds's famous lectures) were conducted in Lamb's auction rooms on Pall Mall.<sup>107</sup> The potential for art school/exhibition symbiosis was more recently rekindled in 1991, when Lynda Morris began the *East / East International* exhibitions using the Norwich School of Art as its primary exhibition space.<sup>108</sup> The enterprise came about from a belief that '[g]alleries linked to academic institutions are the largest regional network of spaces for temporary exhibitions of contemporary art in England'.<sup>109</sup>

In similarly practical vein, funding connections unite spaces for art education with exhibition spaces: their convergence was sufficient for Jennie Lee's White Paper on arts policy to propose the transfer of responsibility for arts expenditure from the Treasury to the Department of Education.<sup>110</sup> As mentioned, art school teachers played an important part in establishing exhibitions for young artists. Carel Weight's role in the creation of the *Young Contemporaries* is discussed above. In 1973, tutors from London art schools (Gillian Ayres, Paul Huxley and William Tucker) were again instrumental in the exhibition's resurrection at the Camden Arts Centre after the original *Young Contemporaries* ran aground in 1970.<sup>111</sup>

To the practical synergies between exhibition and education spaces can be added the theoretical kinship between education and display. Pierre Bourdieu emphasized that education is not simply an internal process, but an external, social apparatus: 'school is not just a place where you learn things, where you acquire knowledge and skills: it's also an institution which awards qualifications—and therefore entitlements—and so confers aspirations'.<sup>112</sup> *Young Contemporaries* and its progeny enacted a public element of art education: they displayed the fruits of art schools but also presented an image of their unity. Colin Trodd's reading of the Royal Academy in the nineteenth century as a place for manufacturing the image of the artist seems prescient. He described a late nineteenth century Royal Academy which had become 'the vector by which the profession of art [was] held together in a set of stable images about education, artistic value, cultural tradition and

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<sup>107</sup> Charles Saumarez Smith, *The Company of Artists: The Origins of the Royal Academy of Arts in London* (London: Modern Art Press, 2012), p. 115.

<sup>108</sup> Although notable for not having rules, and therefore covering all ages and career-phases, *East International* was closer to the emerging than established artist. The age range of its artists suggests it was an heir to the Serpentine *Summer Shows* mentioned above, which had an age limit but also barred art students.

<sup>109</sup> Lynda Morris 'The International Provincial or Every Art School Needs a Dealer', in *Research and the Artist: Considering the Role of Art School* ed. by Antonia Payne (Oxford: Ruskin School, 1999), pp. 28–33 (p. 30).

<sup>110</sup> Robert Hewison, *Too Much: Art and Society in the Sixties 1960–1975* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 57.

<sup>111</sup> <<http://www.newcontemporaries.org.uk/history>> [accessed 12 August 2012].

<sup>112</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 'Youth is Just a Word', in *Sociology in Question*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Sage Publications, 1993), pp. 94–102 (p. 97).



historical custom'.<sup>113</sup> Trodd's account of an institution 'caught up in advertising status' that 'provides its membership with the image of a profession'<sup>114</sup> can readily be transposed onto recent exhibitions for art school students and young artists.

To this end the exhibitionary format also implies cohesion. As the critic Thomas McEvelley observed, '[t]he exhibition [...] is a ritual attempt to bond a community around a self-definition, whether an established or a new one'.<sup>115</sup> When attached to educational institutions, this binding effect is effectively performed twice-over: first as art school (even year-group) community; then as coherent exhibition display. Both are what Gilles Deleuze termed 'spaces of enclosure', positioning the individual within a defined group.<sup>116</sup> This social function worked practically too: especially where exhibitions were student-organized, they allowed artists to meet one another.<sup>117</sup>

In his reflections on education, the philosopher Ivan Illich argued for the importance of the public forum in the educational system at large: '[a] good educational system should have three purposes: it should provide all who want to learn with access to available resources at any time in their lives; empower all who want to share what they know to find those who want to learn it from them; and, finally, furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenge known'.<sup>118</sup> Here, perhaps, is an origin for the painter Stephen Farthing's recent polemical case for the abandonment of art schools and adoption of their function by museums.<sup>119</sup> An institutional association between education and display is not era-specific in the way that the public patronage, the market and increasing art student populations were, and indeed the examples given have largely been exceptional. Yet this particular affinity of function might indicate why the other intersecting causes (philanthropy and the art market) were so effective, and how exhibitions for young artists so quickly became a phenomenon after the creation of *Young Contemporaries*.

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<sup>113</sup> Colin Trodd, 'The Authority of Art: Cultural Criticism and the Idea of the Royal Academy', *Art History* vol.20 no.1 (1997), 3–22 (p. 10).

<sup>114</sup> Trodd, p. 14.

<sup>115</sup> Thomas McEvelley, *Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity* (New York: McPherson, 1992), p. 57.

<sup>116</sup> Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on the Societies of Control,' reprinted in Yve-Alain Bois, Benjamin Buchloh and others, eds. *October: The Second Decade, 1986–1996* (Boston and London: M.I.T., 1997), pp. 443–447.

<sup>117</sup> David Hockney and Patrick Procktor first met on the sending-in day for the Young Contemporaries of 1962 for example. Ian Massey, *Patrick Procktor, Art and Life* (London: Unicorn, 2010), p. 41.

<sup>118</sup> Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1971), p. 75.

<sup>119</sup> Stephen Farthing, *Museum Art Schools: a paper delivered at the 2011 Association of Art Historians' Annual Conference*, University of Warwick.

## Conclusion: The Value of Exhibiting

Until he can sell, the artist finds it very hard to show. Until he has shown, and more than once, he does not sell.<sup>120</sup>

Philip Hendy, 1949

When visibility is at a premium for career success amidst an expanding multitude of artists, a tautological procedure is evident whereby one produces art in order to appear, and appears in order to produce (more) art.<sup>121</sup>

Dean Kenning, 2010

Since Impressionism in the nineteenth century, The group exhibition has had associations with opposition to the academy and the promotion of relatively unknown artists, particularly through linking artists with dealers. Harrison and Cynthia White narrated a familiar situation:

The Impressionist group shows [...] soon withered in favour of one-man shows. Dealers early favoured the latter scheme, for just as individual paintings did not fit the exigencies of selling, neither did groups of always-diverging careers. The group show was used later, by young painters, as a publicity method, but only until each was settled with a good dealer.<sup>122</sup>

This legacy illuminates qualities of young artist exhibitions in London since their development in the 1950s. On the one hand, this historical precedent—suggesting a return of group shows to their original purpose—offers another reason for their success and abundance from often accidental beginnings. On the other, it suggests that ideas of professionalism were embedded in these exhibitions through their engagement with key institutions, namely academies or schools and the art market.

This chapter has described how exhibitions of young artists' work became a significant element of the London art scene from the 1950s onwards. This was partly serendipitous; they appealed to state investment as well as to sponsorship, thrived on goodwill among

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<sup>120</sup> Philip Hendy, 'Foreword', *Young Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (London: R.B.A. Galleries, 1949). Hendy was Director of the National Gallery.

<sup>121</sup> Dean Kenning, 'The Artist as Artist', *Art Monthly*, 337 (June 2010), 7–10 (p. 8).

<sup>122</sup> Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 99.

artist peers, and coincided with a buoyant art market which gave them heightened commercial interest.

Together these factors contributed to the vast expansion of this type of exhibition visible in Appendix 2, and therefore to a cementing of generation as a prominent artistic grouping. But as well as being numerically significant, *Young Contemporaries* offered a litmus paper for assessing the larger change described across this dissertation. As shown above, the *Young Contemporaries* switch between amateurism and professionalism was especially pronounced: from 1955 when the exhibition was considered by its own committee alongside the *Amateurs* exhibition, to 1962, when its exhibitors were the focus of attention from dealers and international museums, to 1967 when it was held in the Tate. So in addition to crystallizing the notion of generation in artistic discourse, *Young Contemporaries* loaded that idea of generation with new associations of seriousness and professionalism.

In this respect *Young Contemporaries* came to evoke the nineteenth century exhibitions above in its creation of a professional identity for the young artist. The exhibitions' definitional function situates them alongside other forms of distinction simultaneously enacted, such as appearance, with similar connotations to those Barry Curtis has described:

For young artists the importance of dress and haircuts was an aspect of their identification with professionalism and an implicit rejection of the dilettantism and amateurism which they felt they had such a strong hold on British painting and the traditions of British art education.<sup>123</sup>

The following chapter will examine collection histories to ascertain the legacy of these shifts in the volume of young artist exposure and the seriousness or professionalism associated with it. Collecting practices of permanent collections will be used to measure their impact at the level of larger art institutions in London, in some ways testing the historical suggestion of the blue plaque *Young Contemporaries* catalogue cover seen in Figure 1 above.

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<sup>123</sup> Barry Curtis, 'A Highly Mobile and Plastic Environ', in *Art and the 60s: This was Tomorrow*, ed. by Chris Stephens and Katherine Stout, exh. cat. (London: Tate, 2004), pp. 47–63 (p. 57–58). Before the 1960s, there was also a uniform of an altogether more maritime aesthetic, typified by the depiction of the artists in the 1958 film *The Horse's Mouth*. Recalling his first meeting with Eduardo Paolozzi at the Slade in 1945, Nigel Henderson noted his 'concession to art school artiness (big Meerscham pipe, abattoir boots, obligatory duffle coat)' reprinted in Victoria Walsh, *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), p. 17.

## V. Collections:

### The Growth of Public Patronage for the Young Artist

So at the time it was all very positive—the Contemporary Arts Society and the Arts Council would be buying. Obviously the work was very cheap, but nevertheless it was a totally different era than exists afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

Allen Jones, recalling the 1960s in 1976

### Introduction: Museums and Collecting Work of the Present Day

The acquisition of living artists' work by public museums and galleries features early in the history of such institutions. In France the Luxembourg Museum was created in 1818 'for living French artists',<sup>2</sup> and in the same year Sir John Leicester opened a Gallery of English Pictures in London, frequently referred to as the 'Gallery of Modern Art'. It took time for contemporary museums to take off: Sir John Leicester's enterprise was sufficiently unsuccessful to cause his financial ruin, and a recent survey of early museums found that the outlook for what was then contemporary art 'could not be harsher in early nineteenth-century London'.<sup>3</sup> As the century progressed there were more successful examples: the National Gallery housed modern British art after a gift from Robert Vernon in 1847; and a Gallery of British Art, which included modern art, was founded in South Kensington in 1857.

Despite these acquisitions of contemporary art for their collections, such museums have an inescapably historical character. Adorno described this quality in his conception of museums as 'family sepulchers of works of art', instrumental in developing the lineage demanded by

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<sup>1</sup> Allen Jones interviewed by Marco Livingstone, 15 March 1976 in Marco Livingstone, 'Young Contemporaries at the Royal College of Art 1959–1962: Derek Boshier, David Hockney, Allen Jones, R.B. Kitaj, Peter Phillips' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1976). Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Its collection included very young artists: Delacroix's work entered the museum in 1822, when he was twenty-four. See Henri Zerner in Jorge Klor de Alva, Henri Zerner and John Elderfield, 'The Idea of a Modern Museum', in *Studies in Modern Art 7: Imagining the Future of the Museum of Modern Art*, ed. by John Elderfield (New York: M.O.M.A, 1998), pp. 98–108 (p. 101). This is a transcript to a discussion held on 19 November 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Jesús Pedro Lorente, *Cathedrals of Urban Modernity: The First Museums of Contemporary Art 1800–1930* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 101.

art-historical narrative.<sup>4</sup> That narrative is populated principally with works by artists long dead. This chapter describes the advent of alternative forms of public collection and a contiguous shift in the collecting pattern of the principal active art museum in London, the Tate. In *Collecting the New*, Bruce Altshuler recently described the paradox new art presents when it enters museum spaces: ‘To designate artworks as museum-worthy is to mark them as objects that would deserve a particular place in [...] “the future’s past” [...]. Contemporary works valorized by entering museum collections [...] are in a sense projected into the future, identified as playing a role in anticipated history’.<sup>5</sup> Reconciling this art-historical, narrative function with the collection of present-day artists’ work stretches museums’ historical character, and the difficulty grows more acute the more unknown or untested the artist.

This tension between past and present in museums’ purpose has been accounted for as the legacy of museums’ two distinct historical roots.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, the public collection derives from collections of a social élite who amassed exemplary works, so judged by taste and connoisseurship. On the other, it stems from European academies, which created collections from competing artists’ submissions, lending them a legitimizing role for contemporary work.<sup>7</sup> But perhaps a better binary for considering the tension in the middle of the twentieth century would consider museums’ dual function: both their educational role for the visiting audience and their promotional role for the nation. For the former, the museum served as a library, teaching its audience about art and art history, in keeping with the educational function demanded of museums since the 1845 Museums Act.<sup>8</sup> For the latter, it helped to enhance and communicate a country’s artistic vitality by asserting the significance of recent or current practitioners, while also bringing benefit to those artists.

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<sup>4</sup> Theodor Adorno, quoted in Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (Oxford: Routledge, 1995), p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Altshuler, ‘A Historical Introduction’, in *Collecting the New* ed. by Bruce Altshuler (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 1–15 (p. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Vera Zollberg, ‘Art Museums and Living Artists: Contentious Communities’, in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. by Ivan Karp, Christine Kreamer and Steven Lavine (Washington DC and London: Smithsonian, 1992), pp. 105–136 (p. 107).

<sup>7</sup> For example, the Grand Prix de Rome for students at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, a purchase grant for work by public museums. See Remi Clignet, *The Structure of Artistic Revolutions* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> *Museums of Art: A Bill to Enable Town Councils to Establish Museums of Art in Corporate Towns* 1845, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: Bills (223) IV.441. This is the conventional reading of this Act, although the Bill itself (at p. 3) only references use of land and buildings ‘in trust for the benefit of the borough’.

The public collection therefore took on what an Arts Council curator described as a ‘dual responsibility to artists and to the public’.<sup>9</sup>

The role of new post-war public institutions in this history of collections is the subject of this chapter. What follows is an argument that new public patronage brought about by bodies such as the Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (C.E.M.A., later the Arts Council) and the British Council favoured younger and less established artists. It did so because these institutions had limited budgets and grew in the context of an art market boom that made established work prohibitively expensive. The new institutions’ status as organs of a welfare state may also have given them an altruistic mandate that informed their collecting policy. In 1964 Bryan Robertson suggested that ‘[w]e are still at the beginning of public patronage in England’.<sup>10</sup> This chapter describes how that beginning shone a light on young artists.

The Arts Council, the British Council and the post-war Tate represented a new type of patronage. As Keynes himself put it: ‘strange patronage of the arts has crept in. It has happened in a[n] [...] informal, unostentatious way—half-baked, if you like’.<sup>11</sup> This new patronage (described slightly prematurely by Keynes in 1945) complemented the growth of exhibitions of young artists’ work outlined in chapters III and IV, many of which also took place in public galleries such as the Whitechapel or the I.C.A. A 2004 book about the *Art Now* displays at Tate Britain expresses a common, but misplaced, view that the incursion of young artists into museums is a new phenomenon. It said of the *Art Now* enterprise:

The proliferation of such liminal spaces in museums is also a pragmatic reflection of the increased velocity with which artists now pass through the system and into [museums’] halls. Artists are being given major-space career retrospectives before the age of thirty-five. Their work is bought by museums when they are even younger, and these institutions are increasingly staffed by a younger generation of curators and buyers.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter shows that this trend is far from being new. The practice is less pronounced

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<sup>9</sup> Isobel Johnstone, *Arts Council Collection: A Concise, Illustrated Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, Photographs and Sculpture Purchased for the Arts Council Between 1942 and 1978* (London: Arts Council, 1979), p. 6. Viewed teleologically, these can be the same: a robust contemporary art scene will ultimately benefit the public broadly, as well as artists.

<sup>10</sup> Bryan Robertson in *The New Generation: 1964*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel, 1964).

<sup>11</sup> John Maynard Keynes, ‘The Arts Council: Its Policy and Hopes’, *The Listener*, vol.32 no.861 (12 July 1945) 31–32 (p. 31).

<sup>12</sup> Martin Herbert, ‘Foreword’, in Lizzie Carey-Thomas, Martin Herbert, Mary Horlock and Katherine Stout, *Now and Then: Art Now at Tate Britain* (London: Tate, 2004), p. 10.

today than fifty years ago, and its development in the 1950s and 1960s historically parallels the emphasis on youth discussed in chapters I and IV. The Arts Council demonstrated willingness to collect artists lacking an established career, and the Tate followed soon thereafter, collecting such work throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Prompted by interactions with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the British Council embraced a similarly speculative acquisition policy in the 1960s.

### New Public Institutions

At the same time that the state was expanding its funding of higher education, it was also developing its patronage of fine art. A connection between the two phenomena is not accidental: C.E.M.A., established in 1940 and given a formalized collection mandate in 1946, began its existence within the Education Department, and Education was where Arts were often parked administratively.<sup>13</sup> As C.E.M.A.'s successor, the Arts Council was granted autonomy and received funding directly from the Treasury, but then returned under an education aegis following the recommendations of the same 1963 Robbins report that proved so influential in higher education.<sup>14</sup> Note also that educational institutions and collections had common lineage with the result that teaching bodies often formed important collections. The Victoria and Albert Museum began as a teaching collection for the Government School of Design, and the N.C.D.A.D. (subsequently the C.N.A.A.) formed a remarkable collection of British Art during this period.<sup>15</sup> Traces of the educational scope of these institutions perhaps informed their efforts to include the young. For example, the Arts Council from 1967 had a policy of appointing two junior members to each of the council's

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<sup>13</sup> C.E.M.A.'s role had been morale boosting, and much of its work had benefited amateur artists. The Arts Council's concern with the professional therefore marked a significant departure in its own right. Other arts found themselves in different areas: publishing and cinema belonged to the Department of Trade and Industry; Broadcasting to the Home Office. Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, ed. by Tony Pinkney (London: Verso, 1989), p. 144.

<sup>14</sup> Patricia Hollis, *Jennie Lee: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 248. Note also that Robbins was a trustee at the Tate and was able to review the implications of his report for the Tate at the meeting of 29 November 1963. The V&A and R.C.A. had been operated under the Ministry of Education, and it was noted with comfort that they appeared to get the money they needed. Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/15. Note also that this merging was reversed: in 1979 arts and education were separated once more, the former to belong to a Department of Arts and Libraries. Under Edward Heath, Education had suffered the indignity of having the Minister for Education relegated to being a Parliamentary Under-Secretary. See Harold Baldry, *The Case For the Arts* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1981), pp. 46–47, and Robert Stevens, *University to Uni: The Politics of Higher Education in England since 1944* (London: Politico's, 2004), p. 38.

<sup>15</sup> The collection can be viewed online. See <<http://www.fineart.ac.uk/institutions.php?idinst=11>> [accessed 12 August 2012].

advisory bodies, either students or former students aged between eighteen and twenty-five.<sup>16</sup> This chapter therefore adopts the premise of the 1957 Gulbenkian report *Support for the Arts*: ‘we must reject the long-established fallacy that “arts support” and “education” are two separate things’.<sup>17</sup>

A relationship between education and art institutions is consistent with their parallel growth in spending; perhaps they grew in tandem because of their shared position in a broader project.<sup>18</sup> The Treasury grant to the Arts Council grew from £100,000 in 1942–43 to £235,000 in 1945–46.<sup>19</sup> The Tate, having first secured an annual grant from the Treasury in 1946,<sup>20</sup> had its own purchase grant raised from £7,500 to £40,000 in 1959,<sup>21</sup> and then to £60,000 in 1964.<sup>22</sup> Overall, museum purchase grants averaged around £850,000 in the mid-1960s but reached £2,000,000 per annum for 1970–71, at a time when other public spending was being cut, often drastically.<sup>23</sup> And to further cement the relationship between this and previous chapters, names prominent in the relevant education and exhibition histories recur here too: among the Arts Council purchasers in this period were Bryan Robertson (in 1958 and 1969–72), Carel Weight (in 1963) and Lawrence Gowing (1964).<sup>24</sup>

In broad terms, this growth in funding enabled the state to become an important patron for artists. For the Arts Council, quite literally a Keynesian institution, demand-creation was a purpose from the beginning. It pursued this aim by showing, touring and buying artists’

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<sup>16</sup> Robert Hutchison, *The Politics of the Arts Council* (London: Sinclair Browne, 1982), pp. 139–140. In the 1970s this interest ‘gradually evaporated’.

<sup>17</sup> *Support for the Arts*, ed. by Lord Redcliffe-Maud (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976), p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the idea of a Minister for the Arts first arose through education: the Robbins Report had proposed the creation of a new Ministry of Arts and Science. The cabinet weighed this against the advantages of a single Ministry of Education. See Cabinet Meeting Minutes of 8 October 1963, National Archives CAB/128/37 <<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-128-37-cc-63-59-59.pdf>> p. 4. [accessed 12 August 2012].

<sup>19</sup> Hollis, *Jennie Lee*, p. 247.

<sup>20</sup> Janet Minihan, *The Nationalisation of Culture: The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1977), p. 181. This original grant was £2,000: see *Tate Gallery Review 1953–1963* (London: H.M.S.O., 1964), p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Spalding, *The Tate: A History* (London: Tate, 1998), p. 133.

<sup>22</sup> Spalding, *The Tate*, p. 144. A special grant of £50,000 a year was awarded for five years from 1964 to 1968 exclusively for the purchase of foreign works from the period 1900–50: see Norman Reid’s director’s report in *Tate Gallery Report 1967–68* (London: H.M.S.O., 1969), p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Hollis, *Jennie Lee*, p. 273. See also Lisa Tickner, “‘Export Britain’: Pop Art, Mass Culture and the Export Drive,” *Art History* (April 2012), 394–419 (p. 398) repeating the anecdote that Harold Wilson’s incoming government’s chancellor in 1964 found a note from Reginald Maudling, his tax-cutting predecessor, saying ‘sorry to leave it such a mess’.

<sup>24</sup> *How to Improve the World: 60 Years of British Art. Arts Council Collection*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward, 2006), Appendix, p. 176.



work, often to the benefit of young artists. In the 1960s, at the height of the trend discussed in this chapter, there are many examples of Arts Council purchases direct from the R.C.A. or from *Young Contemporaries* exhibitions.<sup>25</sup> Tony Field, a Finance Deputy of the Arts Council at the time, recalled David Hockney's tendency to materialize periodically at Arts Council offices with bags full of paintings to sell,<sup>26</sup> suggesting a perception of the Arts Council as a useful patron for the young. Similarly, when the Minister of Public Building and Works approached the Arts Council with an empty building in 1969, a venue for the young was their first thought. Eric White, Assistant Secretary at the Council, recalled in his 1975 history of the Arts Council that '[i]t seemed to the Council that this building would form an excellent exhibition gallery, which could be used to help young artists who were not yet known to the private gallery world and were sometimes working on a scale or in media beyond the capacity of most of those galleries, to display their work to good effect'.<sup>27</sup> The Serpentine opened on 1 May 1970, and several of its early exhibitions are discussed in the previous chapter.

Vitality, this channel of encouragement offered a precedent for large institutions and museums, allowing their patronage to become a more constructive intervention in artists' careers. Figure 1 below illustrates early-career acquisitions of the Arts Council, the Tate and the British Council using acquisition data gathered and presented in Appendix 3. It compares these institutions' purchases of work by artists who were under thirty-five at the date of acquisition. The comparison shows that the Arts Council consistently collected actively in this segment, and that with time both the British Council and the Tate did so, too. This chapter uses the Tate and the British Council as two principal case studies; their patterns of collecting and the shapes of their statistics are analyzed below to give a more detailed account of this development and its causes. From the 1950s to the 1970s all three institutions significantly increased their collecting of young artists' work. The Arts Council provides the earliest example: from the outset in the mid-1940s, around 30% of its purchases were from young artists, and in the thirty years to the mid-1970s this proportion approximately doubled. Early-career purchasing continues to be identified with the Arts Council collection: as expressed tersely by the journalist Tom Lubbock, its policy is '[b]uy

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<sup>25</sup> Arts Council purchases from the R.C.A. include works by Bernard Myers in 1962; Ralph Brown, David Horn, Edwin Pickett and William Pye in 1965; Vicki Sheridan, Colin Onn and Rachel Fenner in 1966; and Paul Wright in 1969. Purchases from the *Young Contemporaries* include work by Roger Jeffs in 1963 and Paul Watson in 1964.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Witts, *Artist Unknown: An Alternative History of the Arts Council* (London: Warner, 1998), p. 283.

<sup>27</sup> Eric W. White, *The Arts Council of Great Britain* (London: Davis Poynter, 1975), p. 185.

young, buy cheap!'.<sup>28</sup> Following close behind the Arts Council was the Tate, whose changing policy will be discussed in detail. The graph of Tate acquisitions shows a dramatic turn towards young artists in the 1950s, before settling into a pattern in which work by artists under 35 represented around 30% of total acquisitions of work by living artists. Before 1950, young artists' work had made up a much smaller segment of the Tate's acquisitions, typically around 10%. Finally, and most dramatically, the British Council's shift in collecting policy raised the percentage of work by artists under 35 from around 20% of its purchases to around 50%. For reasons detailed below, this change occurred within a specific window between 1960 and 1965.

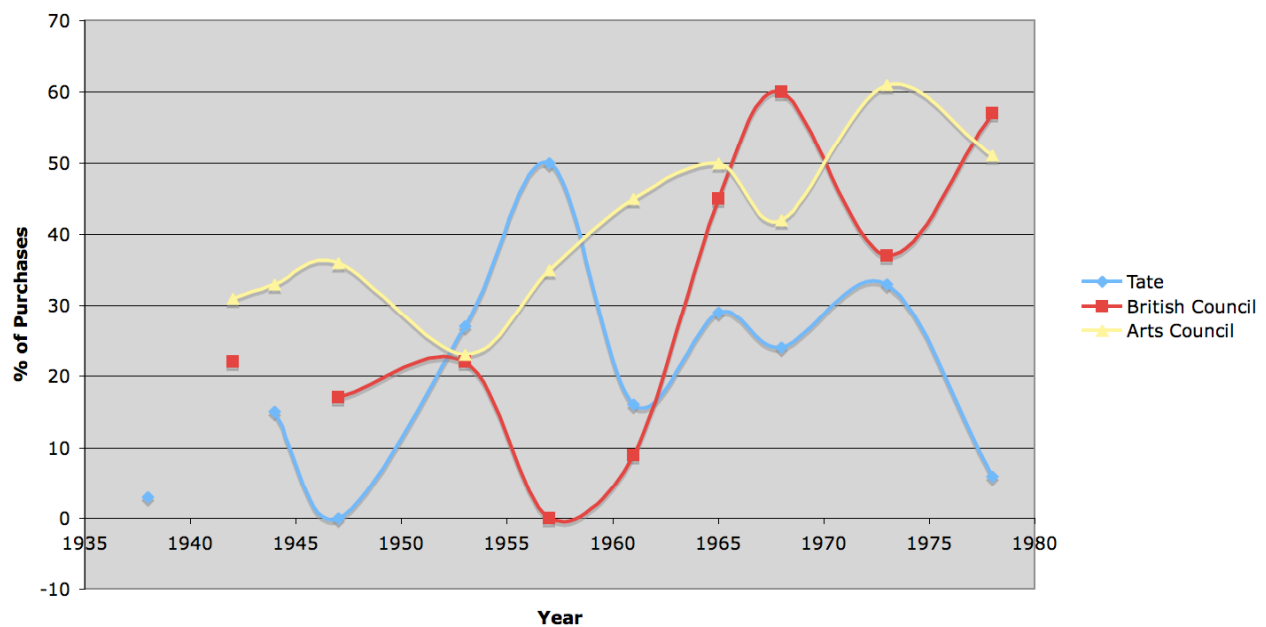


Figure 1: Purchases of work by artists under thirty-five at date of acquisition as a percentage of purchases of work by living artists.

<sup>28</sup> The title of an article in the *Independent on Sunday* (4 March 1990). It was cited again in 2002 in Chin-Tao Wu, *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Intervention Since the 1980s* (London: Verso, 2002), p. 38.

## The Tate

The best collector is often the one who can identify his prey and capture it the soonest.<sup>29</sup>

Sir John Rothenstein, Tate Director, 1965

When Alfred Barr made his case for a collection of modern art in New York in 1931, he considered the Tate alongside the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and the Luxembourg Gallery in Paris, stating: 'It is the proper part of their program to take chances in the acquisition of contemporary painting and sculpture, a policy which would be unwise on the part of their conservative counterparts'.<sup>30</sup> Barr contrasted these collections with historical museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was not until 1954, however, that this account became institutionally accurate: the Tate was then formally separated from the National Gallery by statute, affording it a partial freedom from definition as a historical collection, although this historical role remains for the British collection.<sup>31</sup> *Tate Reports* from the 1950s onward reflect the binary nature of the collection and its shifting identity, dividing acquisitions first between the 'British Collection' and the 'Modern Foreign Collection', and then at the beginning of the 1960s migrating contemporary British artist purchases into the 'Modern Collection' and populating the 'British Collection' solely with historical acquisitions. The distinction is no longer made: *Tate Reports* today list acquisitions simply as 'Collection'.

Division of British pictures between the Tate and the National Gallery from 1954 probably contributed to these adjustments to the Tate's definition and scope, alterations with clear ramifications for its collecting policy.<sup>32</sup> Critically, at the same time that formal severance from the National Gallery curbed the Tate's historical collecting practices, the Tate also faced criticism for the prices it paid to fill 'gaps' in the Modern Collection—Degas's *Little Dancer Aged Fourteen* acquired in 1952 was among various works for which the Tate was

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<sup>29</sup> John Rothenstein, 'Director's Report', *Tate Gallery Report 1964–65* (London: H.M.S.O., 1965), p. 6. Rothenstein qualified this assertion by warning against ephemeral works of art: 'it may be that the Gallery has sometimes been too eager to seize examples of a tendency straight from the studio'. Nevertheless, this was a remarkable statement from a Director.

<sup>30</sup> Alfred Barr, *An Effort to Secure \$3,250,000 for the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: 1931), quoted in Lorente, *Cathedrals of Urban Modernity*, p. 231.

<sup>31</sup> The National Gallery and Tate Gallery Act 1954. See Minihan, *The Nationalisation of Culture*, p. 157.

<sup>32</sup> An amicable agreement was signed in 1954 when Lionel Robbins, of Robbins Report fame, became Chairman of the Trustees of the National Gallery. Tensions continued for many years, however, especially regarding Impressionist work, and Frances Spalding vividly describes how 'fairly persistent negotiations regarding transfers went on in various places, over dinner parties or at the Athenaeum, and at least one agreement was reached in the back of a taxi', Spalding, *The Tate*, p. 123.

criticized for having overpaid.<sup>33</sup> The Trustees defended themselves in a *Report to the Treasury* in February 1954, and the sentiment they expressed recurred in directors' annual and biannual reports for several years hence. Their Report argued that:

[The Trustees] are not prepared to admit that the record in this respect calls for any apology. It can always be claimed that a picture which at any previous date could have been bought more cheaply is at the time of its purchase an extravagance. The logical implication of this would be that purchases should be confined to works of unknown artists, but this is scarcely the function of a National Collection.<sup>34</sup>

As the Tate ceased to be identified with the National Gallery, its potential to transform into a primarily Modernist collection was therefore qualified by a concern about the high prices of established Modernist work.<sup>35</sup> This perhaps pushed their focus further into the present day: if it was too late to grow a collection of Modernist work without a greater budget, moving the focus further into the present and acquiring more recent work might be a default solution.

Historically, there had been a trickle of unestablished artists' work into the Tate's collection throughout the twentieth century, chiefly through the operation of the Chantrey bequest (see Appendix 4 and below).<sup>36</sup> The Knapping Fund, a bequest specifically for purchases of work by living or recently dead artists, was also transferred from the National Gallery to the Tate in 1938 and grew the Tate's non-historical collecting resources.<sup>37</sup> It contributed to comparatively early-career purchases, as did substantial acquisition of work by war artists in 1949.<sup>38</sup> The gallery incorporated young and new art beyond its collection policy, too, often

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<sup>33</sup> This was further complicated by suggestions that Rosenstein had benefited from the sale; see Norman Reid interviewed by Cathy Courtney (2000–05), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/97, tape 3 of 14. This related to a smear campaign in which Le Roux Smith Le Roux featured prominently. See John Richardson, 'Punch-up at the Tate', *The Telegraph*, 19 July 1997 and John Rothenstein, *Brave Day Hideous Night* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966).

<sup>34</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/9 Report by the Trustees to H.M. Treasury of February 1954.

<sup>35</sup> The Tate was initially keen to become Modernist. Rothenstein recalled the Trustees' 'delighted dazzlement' when shown a spread of chiefly French Modernist work in 1949. John Rothenstein, 'Brave Day, Hideous Night' (1966), reprinted in Frank Herrmann, *The English as Collectors* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), p. 410.

<sup>36</sup> A sum spent by the Royal Academy for which purchases the Tate had a right of first refusal. This arrangement caused much friction between the institutions: see Norman Reid's note to the Trustees of 15 May 1970. Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/21.

<sup>37</sup> Tate Public Records: Finance: Funds: Knapping Fund, TG 17/3/7/1. The fund was created on Margaret Knapping's death in 1935.

<sup>38</sup> Through this fund, work by Victor Pasmore, Ceri Richards and Graham Sutherland entered the collection for the first time. Spalding, *The Tate*, p. 84. A notable purchase was Michael Andrews's *A Man Who Suddenly Fell Over* (1952) in 1958. In 1949, 90 war pictures were added to the collection. Spalding, *The Tate*, p. 93.

at the suggestion of the Contemporary Art Society, whose offices were housed in Tate buildings at Millbank from the 1940s.<sup>39</sup> For example in May 1952, Tate trustees discussed a proposal by the society ‘to sponsor a scheme for the introduction of young artists’ work to an interested public, through evening gatherings at the Tate Gallery Restaurant’.<sup>40</sup>

For all these precedents, the period from the 1950s onward marked a distinct change in collecting policy. A consolidated *Tate Review* of 1953–63 had the unusual feature of being a ten-year review, allowing a historical perspective. The overview of the collection described the advent of ‘a rather different purchasing policy’ that included a ‘policy of buying the works of young artists at a comparatively early stage in their careers’.<sup>41</sup> The report cited the collection’s inclusion of work by Situation artists and Pop artists as evidence of the shift.

### The Story as Told by Trustee Meetings

Scrutiny of trustee meeting minutes from the late 1940s through to the close of the 1960s reveals how and why interest in early-career artists became more prevalent and how, as a result, it came to be formalized. Members of the Tate’s board of trustees had expressed interest in looking at the work of younger artists in the 1950s: in 1952 William Coldstream as a trustee ‘reminded the Board that it was also agreed that paintings by a number of young painters including Peter Lanyon and Josef Herman were to be considered by the Trustees’.<sup>42</sup> Two months later this was mentioned as policy: minutes recorded ‘Lord Jowitt [a trustee] himself agreed that, while not being too experimental in their choice, it was the policy of the Gallery to consider the work of artists while they were still young’.<sup>43</sup>

Throughout the 1950s, various references were made to watching young artists with interest, the suggestion most frequently coming from Coldstream.<sup>44</sup> These urges to monitor young artists’ progress initially appeared in the context of decisions not to buy work, so could perhaps be read as instances of polite buyer etiquette. However, when the acquisitions

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<sup>39</sup> Terry Smith, *What is Contemporary Art* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 58.

<sup>40</sup> *Tate Gallery Review 1953–1963* (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/7, meeting of 15 May 1952, item IX.

<sup>42</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/7, meeting of 17 July 1952, item V.

<sup>43</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/7, meeting of 4 September 1952.

<sup>44</sup> See, for instance, minutes of the meeting of 22 July 1954 at which paintings by Jack Smith were turned down. The board ‘decided that he was an artist whose development they would follow with interest’. Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TGA 1/3/9. Or discussion at the meeting of 17 July 1952 regarding Michael Ayrton. Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/7.

strategy was formalized in 1959, it is notable that the committee considered contemporary work in four categories, by far the largest of which (Group C) was headed 'Future development to be watched'. Within the painters section it listed twenty artists and within the sculptors section it listed nine, each a substantially greater number than that of any other category listed.<sup>45</sup>

It was at about this time, at the end of the 1950s, that more extensive discussion arose regarding the stage at which to buy an artist's work. The context of a newly inflating market for modern art informed the debate: the pressure caused by increasing prices led to an anxiety about being able to acquire work. Trustees faced criticism for overpaying if they waited for work to be acceptably established, or indeed the possibility of not being able to acquire desirable work at all; the Chairman of the trustees reported in 1959 that many contemporary American artists were now beyond the Tate's financial reach.<sup>46</sup> A letter from the Chairman of the trustees to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1961 sought to grow the Gallery's collecting power by asking for more money. The letter emphasized the inadequacy of the Tate's purchase grant, which it argued was 'adequate for current bread and butter purchases of current work' but fell far short of filling any art-historical gaps in the collection:

Let us say that the cost of a characteristic 'gap-filling' work will start at £30,000 and may be as high as £70,000, and indeed much more than that, for pictures of the caliber that the Gallery should be showing. It is altogether too disruptive of the ordered buying policies which the Gallery should pursue in keeping abreast of contemporary movements for us to be raiding the current purchasing grant in order to buy works of such an entirely different price-category.<sup>47</sup>

As both practice and policy, the collection of young artists' work reached its peak in the early 1960s when being timely seems to have become accepted as a means of circumventing the problem of inadequate funds. At a trustee meeting in 1963, Robert Sainsbury and Roland Penrose indicated their anxiety about missing opportunities. The minutes record: 'Mr Sainsbury said that a Tate representative should see pictures in dealers' galleries before

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<sup>45</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes TG 1/3/13, meeting of the Purchasing Policy Sub-Committee on Contemporary Painters and Sculptors dated 11 February 1959. The other three categories were: 'Works to be sought out' (listing five painters and three sculptors); 'For sympathetic consideration on present work' (listing twelve painters and seven sculptors); and 'Senior' (listing seven painters and four sculptors).

<sup>46</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/13, meeting of 19 March 1959. During the discussion between Reid and Adene they 'thought it would be better to buy works by some of the younger artists and asked permission to spend up to £1,500 on some of these'.

<sup>47</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/14. Letter of 4 August 1961 from the Chairman of the trustees to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the time of the letter, the purchase grant was £40,000. The most difficult to obtain were works by Mondrian, Braque and Picasso, as was noted in the meeting of 17 October 1963.

the private view, directly the pictures arrived from the artist, so as to ensure that half the works would not be sold before the Tate had a look at them. Mr Penrose added that it was also important to keep in very close touch with dealers and the artists themselves and to know more of what was going on in advance'.<sup>48</sup> In a brief memoir of his time as Assistant Keeper at the Tate from 1954 to 1964, Dennis Farr later recalled likewise: in the 1960s, Tate staff were encouraged to visit contemporary commercial shows.<sup>49</sup>

If the suggestions of Penrose and Sainsbury indicate a difficult, competitive context for keeping abreast—or rather ahead—of modern and contemporary work, it should be recalled that signs of transition towards greater proximity to the current art scene had been gradually permeating board minutes throughout the previous ten years. Although in 1963 Sainsbury and Penrose signaled the effects of a buoyant art market on collecting at the Tate, market pressure arguably peaked slightly after these developments first began to be perceptible in the data collected: Figure 1's line rises before the market boom is conventionally located. So while the market had an effect, this chronological inconsistency suggests a broader change, in the way the gallery perceived its role regarding living artists and contemporary art. This was not solely a matter of practical expediency, then, but also perhaps a shift in the Tate's profile as a collecting institution.

### Expressions of Ambivalence

The board of trustees periodically expressed ambivalence about these new collecting practices. This was essentially a speculative approach, and its risk caused alarm from the outset. In 1952 trustee minutes record that Dennis Proctor 'expressed his renewed concern at the spending of the Tate's decreasing funds on works by unknown or experimental artists, and feared that this would have a deplorable effect on the mind of the public'.<sup>50</sup> At the height of the practice, in 1966, Andrew Forge stated a position which is perhaps surprising given that he worked in art schools. Minutes record that Forge felt

that it might be wrong for the Tate to allow itself to become a platform for the newest of the new. He was not sure that it would be right to show the *Lichtenstein* exhibition, and he was sorry that the Gallery was to accommodate the *Young Contemporaries* exhibition. He believed that the

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<sup>48</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/15, meeting of 14 April 1963, item III on purchasing policy.

<sup>49</sup> Dennis Farr, 'A Curator at the Tate Gallery', *Burlington Magazine* vol.149 no.1234 (January 2006), 25–30 (p. 28).

<sup>50</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/7, meeting of 19 June 1952.

Board should observe more rigorously the implications of the fact that the Tate was a museum with a responsibility to preserve values that had been established through the years.<sup>51</sup>

The responses to such concerns again clarify the intentions behind pursuing this policy. A fundamentally pragmatic argument was advanced against Dennis Proctor about price and value: the minutes of the meeting where Forge's objections were raised state that two trustees, including Philip Hendy, then Director of the National Gallery,

maintained that it was part of the duty of the Trustees to patronize rising artists of obvious talent before their works became rare and expensive. This view was supported by Sir Colin Anderson and Professor Coldstream. Sir Philip Hendy said that the Trustees would have far larger funds at their disposal if they, or their predecessors, had followed a more progressive policy in the past.<sup>52</sup>

This pragmatism depended on purchases being prophetic: Hendy's argument did not take into account the possibility of forming a collection of insignificant and worthless work, but instead assumed historical vindication of early purchases. Later arguments in favour of the policy similarly assumed much in terms of the Tate's capacity to identify artistic progress as it unfolded; they advanced a historical argument reminiscent of Bruce Altshuler's conception of museums as repositories for the 'future's past'.<sup>53</sup> A 1967 Exhibitions Policy document asserted:

since the Tate is, among other things, a museum of contemporary art, it is essential that it should be actively committed to contemporary art and therefore should put on exhibitions of quite young painters, of comparatively recent movements, or even of technical developments, wherever we are convinced that they are, in some way, decisive in the development of painting and sculpture, but only then.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/19, meeting of 15 Dec 1966, item XIII(c), 'Exhibition Policy'. Forge studied and taught at the Slade, before becoming head of Fine Art at Goldsmiths, a position he occupied in 1966. Contrast the championing of the young by William Coldstream, the other trustee associated with art schools.

<sup>52</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/7, meeting of 19 June 1952. He went on to say that he hoped the current purchase of work by Martin Froy 'would not remain an isolated example, as it would acquire a greater significance if the Board undertook to acquire suitable works by other rising artists like Peter Lanyon and Josef Herman. The Board agreed and asked that examples by such artists should be made available for their inspection at regular intervals'.

<sup>53</sup> Altshuler, *Collecting the New*, p.2.

<sup>54</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/19, meeting of 16 March 1967, Annex A, 'Exhibitions Policy'.



At the 'Trustees' meeting where this document was debated, much emphasis was given to the threshold for being 'in some ways decisive in the development of painting and sculpture'.<sup>55</sup> This idea suffered from obvious circularity: display in or collection by the Tate was likely to have an effect on how developments in art history were subsequently described and analyzed, although perhaps not to the extent Tate's current weight in opinion might suggest. Beyond the Tate's institutional authority and the consequent reputation it afforded its exhibits and collection, assessment of historical significance was—definitionally—not a judgment that could be made contemporaneously with the work. The historical perspective spoken of cannot be historical without the passage of time, evoking the distinction between 'emerging' and merely 'novel' with which this dissertation began.

### The Changing Shape of the Tate Collection

The story told by the Tate collection itself echoes the narrative arc suggested by Trustee meetings. Figure 1 above shows the Tate's purchases of works by artists under 35 at time of purchase, as a percentage of its purchases of works by living artists. This proportion had been low before 1950, but from around 1955 to 1970 constituted a substantial portion, averaging around 30%. A disconnect exists between stated policy and actual collecting practice to the extent that the ambivalence indicated by the debates is not always reflected statistically. Moreover, the historical range of the data irons out some of the more pronounced moments of this phenomenon. For example the graph does not show an especially striking surfeit of purchases of work by young artists in early 1962, when the Chairman of the Trustees Colin Anderson

remarked that nearly all the works considered by the Trustees for purchase over the past eighteen months had been of the present period and he was beginning to feel there was a danger that the representation of the earlier periods for which they were responsible, or even of the rather more senior living artists, like William Scott, were being somewhat neglected.<sup>56</sup>

Similar concern was felt outside the museum. An improbable critic of the Tate's embrace of the new—given his promotion elsewhere of exhibitions for the young—was Bryan

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<sup>55</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/19, meeting of 16 March 1967, item II(a). The trustees took Richard Smith as an example of 'the kind of younger artist for whom the gallery might aim to provide one-man exhibitions from time to time'.

<sup>56</sup> Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/14, meeting of 18 January 1962 approved purchases of Harold Cohen, Sheila Fell and Derek Hill. The meeting of 15 February 1962, note VI, 'Purchasing Policy' records Anderson's concerns. At this meeting, acquisitions of Bernard Cohen's *Phoenix* and Joe Tilson's *Wood Relief no. 17* had just been approved.

Robertson. In 1965 in *Private View* he wrote: ‘there are signs in recent years that after rather neglecting the younger artists, the Tate has swung too far the other way in a slightly desperate effort to “keep with it” and not to be old-fashioned or unaware of the scene, and now buys far too indiscriminately, and over-anxiously, from young artists’.<sup>57</sup> To evidence this excess he cited the Tate’s purchase of a painting by Antony Donaldson while Donaldson was still a student at the Slade.<sup>58</sup> Robertson’s concern echoed the dealer Geoffrey Agnew’s, voiced seven years earlier, in 1958: ‘There are too many well-known, mature artists who do not get their fair share of patronage. It has become in my view too much of a fashion to patronize only the young’.<sup>59</sup>

Appendix 4 lists works bought by the Tate when the artist was under thirty, allowing more detailed examination of acquisitions by narrowing the age bracket down from the threshold of thirty-five used elsewhere in this dissertation. The data demonstrate that in addition to being quantitatively distinct from pre-war collecting, acquisition of work by younger artists in this period had changed character. Where previous purchases had generally been of traditional genres, with many examples of portraits, nudes and still lives, those from the 1950s onwards were more perceptibly representative of contemporary artistic developments.

This qualitative change perhaps reflects changing sources of funds. The Chantrey bequest initially represented a major part of the Tate’s purchasing power, but its significance diminished as other funds developed. The operation of the Chantrey bequest meant that for much of the twentieth century the fund served as a conduit for Royal Academy influence on the shape of the collection. These purchases had a conservative character, as Appendix 4 shows. By contrast, after around 1950 the newer young artists seem to have come to trustees’ attention either through prizes such as the John Moores, the attention of critics, or their own professional experience.<sup>60</sup> An example of the latter was the purchase of a work by Martin Froy in 1961, an idea introduced by Coldstream, who taught him at the Slade. For the Froy purchase, the altruism mentioned earlier was also in evidence, as a discount offered

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<sup>57</sup> Bryan Robertson and John Russell, *Private View* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1965), p. 158.

<sup>58</sup> It was in fact the subsequent year: Donaldson left the Slade in 1962, and the purchase was made in 1963. Robertson was perhaps privy to an informal commitment to buy the work.

<sup>59</sup> Anonymous, ‘Too Much Patronage for Young Artists’, *The Times*, Thursday 23 October 1958, p. 16. Given Agnew’s art market interest in Old Masters, his view is less surprising than Robertson’s.

<sup>60</sup> For example, trustees discussed Henry Mundy at the meeting of 18 January 1962 because he had recently won the *John Moores* prize, and they discussed Sandra Blow and Patrick Heron’s work at the meeting of 19 May 1960 following their receipt of prizes under the British Guggenheim Award. Tate Public Records: Trustees: Board Minutes, TG 1/3/14. Per the meeting of 18 June 1959, work was also bought from shows at the Whitechapel, for example Jack Smith’s *Bottles in Light and Shadow* in 1959.

by the artist was declined.<sup>61</sup> The difference in the work purchased perhaps also embodies a shift in strategy. The Chantrey purchases were unlikely to have been speculative: even if they expressed confidence in the acquired artists' futures, they show no signs of having been made in the expectation of such work becoming unaffordable. By contrast, the purchases after 1950 seemed to presume the work was significant and would only become increasingly difficult to acquire. Interestingly, although the Chantrey bequest played little part in this transition itself, it was because of the bequest that the Tate originally adopted the policy of having two artist trustees.<sup>62</sup> The Chantrey bequest could therefore, somewhat paradoxically, be read as an indirect engine of progress through its impact on the Tate's governance if not its acquisitions.

Despite the risks associated with speculating and suggestions that the policy had been overenthusiastically adopted by the early 1960s, early acquisition had great significance for the artists it benefited and likely contributed to the sense of excitement in the London art world at the time. At Kitaj's first exhibition at Marlborough Fine Art in 1963, the Tate bought *Isaac Babel Riding with Budyonny*. Purchases like this justified headlines such as the Times's 'An Eagerly Awaited First Exhibition', heading a profile of the young Kitaj.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Tate bought *Four Identical Boxes with Lids Reversed* from Michael Craig-Martin's first solo exhibition at the Rowan Gallery in 1969. 'I was absolutely floored', Craig-Martin later recalled.<sup>64</sup> By the time of the McAlpine Gift of sixty sculptures by young British artists in 1970, the Tate seemed a natural collection for them to join.<sup>65</sup> Norman Reid's conception of the Tate's aim 'to provide a bridge between the present and the immediate past' of the same year quietly acknowledged a radical departure from the Tate's pre-war profile.<sup>66</sup>

This section began with the Alfred Barr's erroneous (or at least premature) view of the Tate as a Museum of Modern Art in 1931. Through the changes described above his account became correct, to the extent that when quizzed about the need for a M.O.M.A. in London

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<sup>61</sup> Tate Public Records: Tate Collections: Acquisitions, TG 4/2/355/1. Martin Froy wrote to the Tate on 14 October 1961 'I understand that Professor Coldstream has already let you know that he has asked me to send some paintings to you at the Tate'. There was then a note from Norman Reid to Coldstream dated 20 October asking him to broker the price. A letter from the Keeper to Froy, dated 31 October 1961, states: 'the Chairman, and indeed Sir William Coldstream also, thought it would be unfair to take advantage of your extremely generous offer'. They therefore paid him a higher price than Froy had suggested.

<sup>62</sup> Norman Reid interviewed by Cathy Courtney (2000–05), British Library *Artists' Lives* recording C466/97, tape 4 of 14.

<sup>63</sup> Marco Livingstone, *Kitaj* (London: Phaidon, 1999), p. 23.

<sup>64</sup> Richard Cork, *Michael Craig-Martin* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), p. 27.

<sup>65</sup> *Tate Gallery Report 1970–72* (London: Tate, 1972), p. 30.

<sup>66</sup> Norman Reid, 'What is a Museum of Modern Art?', *Art & Artists*, vol.4 no.10 (January 1970), 16–17 (p. 17).

in 1968, Jennie Lee responded: 'We've had Treasury permission to go ahead with extending the Tate [...] so, in effect, we already have a centre for modern art in the Tate. It's got to do its best'.<sup>67</sup>

### The British Council and its Collection

The British Council collection began formally in 1947 with a modest grant of £500 to spend on art 'for the purpose of purchasing works to decorate Council institutes overseas',<sup>68</sup> with the ultimate aim of lending work to local museums around the world. The diminutive size of this grant was remarked upon at its first discussion.<sup>69</sup> The fund's modesty arguably steered the collection towards more speculative content from the outset, as established work was beyond its reach. There were practical considerations as well: Julian Andrews, a former director of the Council's Fine Arts department, has pointed out that the itinerant nature of the collection had implications for the scale and medium of art collected.<sup>70</sup>

If the Tate's historical mandate prompted both internal and external challenges to speculative collecting policies, the British Council's diplomatic mission likewise qualified its collection of unestablished artists' work. The relative conservatism of civil servants and diplomats is something of a cliché, and offices representing Britain abroad were unlikely habitats for experimental art. The debate secured little coverage in the Fine Arts Committee minutes, but signs of the tension were evident early in the British Council's history. The Council organized the British Pavilion of the Venice Biennale from 1938 and initially showed contemporary artists alongside safely historical artists: Henry Moore with Turner in 1948, Matthew Smith and Barbara Hepworth with Constable in 1950.<sup>71</sup> Despite having ended this cautious practice in the early 1950s, the Council's Fine Arts Committee remained concerned with a perceived 'cranky' image.<sup>72</sup> Discussing this image in 1956, the Committee

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<sup>67</sup> Jennie Lee, 'Talking to Jennie Lee' (interview), *Art & Artists*, vol.2 no.11 (February 1968), 12–15 (p. 12).

<sup>68</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 1, meeting of 18 April 1947. A gift from Lord Wakefield in 1935 had also instigated some earlier purchases: see Julian Andrews, *The British Council Collection 1938–1984* (London: British Council, 1984), p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 1, meeting of 29 June 1949. The committee felt 'it would be several years before the collection would be large enough for such a work to be available for this purpose'. Philip James commented how unfavourably it compared with the Arts Council's grant of £4,500.

<sup>70</sup> Andrews, *The British Council Collection*, p. 9.

<sup>71</sup> These were only the second and third pavilions the Council organized, and came after a long wartime gap.

<sup>72</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meeting of 31 January 1956. Sir Paul Sinker (Director General of the Council) came in from outside the Fine Arts Committee to discuss this issue. Philip James noted that people associated with the diplomatic service seemed to have more conservative tastes than the

reached a consensus that suggested little desire to shake it off. The Committee agreed that: ‘The Council ought not to go too far ahead of opinion in showing art that was “avant-garde” but should concentrate mainly on what was accepted as good by those of authority in the fine arts’. It also worried that ‘too much Fine Art money was at present being spent on what [they] would call the “avant-garde”[...] which perhaps only appealed to the avant-garde overseas’.<sup>73</sup> Examination of the British Council collection from its beginning to the early 1960s again suggests a fairly conservative collecting pattern, manifesting signs of conservative tastes similar to those which characterized early Chantrey purchases at the Tate, while also leaning towards artists with a proven track record.

### The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the British Council

Figure 1 shows a very pronounced revision of the Council’s collecting practice during the 1960s, when purchases of work by artists aged under thirty-five became predominant in the Council’s acquisitions. This transformation coincided exactly with the Council’s involvement with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

In an attempt to fatten the British Council collection’s lean funding, the Council approached the Foundation, with a view to securing a grant for ‘the formation of a special collection of painting and sculpture by living British artists which would be known as the Gulbenkian Collection of the British Council’.<sup>74</sup> The chairman of the Fine Arts Committee wrote to the secretary of the Gulbenkian Foundation on 29 May 1958 proposing such an arrangement. He wrote: ‘a suitable target would be the acquisition of some 50 pictures and sculptures, the cost of which would be about £25,000. The collection would include a majority of work by comparatively young artists but such a sum would also make possible the purchase of a number of fine examples by artists whose position was already established’.<sup>75</sup> This offer accommodated the Foundation’s stated interest in the work of young and lesser-known artists.<sup>76</sup> In an internal document requesting permission to undertake these purchases, Lilian Somerville emphasized the advantage to the Council of having knowledge of—and

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British population.

<sup>73</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meeting of 31 January 1956.

<sup>74</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meetings of 20 May 1958 and 27 May 1958.

<sup>75</sup> British Council: London, Correspondence on the Permanent Collection presentation and Gulbenkian Collection of Modern British Art: Tate Archive TGA 200317/6/4. Letter dated 29 May 1958.

<sup>76</sup> Andrews, *The British Council Collection*, p. 11.

borrowing access to—the work, and of the goodwill among artists and dealers it could inculcate.<sup>77</sup>

The Foundation granted the request, but offered incremental funding and allowed a certain ambiguity in the final destination of the collection to prevail. The letter to Lilian Somerville at the British Council accompanying the first payment, of £10,000 for three to five years of purchases, stipulated that the art bought be smaller than five feet in the largest dimension and by British or Commonwealth artists. It also expressly addressed the age of artists to be collected: ‘It is thought that, without setting any age limit, preference should be given to acquiring the works of younger artists’.<sup>78</sup> The Fine Arts Committee meeting of May 1960, correspondingly, recorded this offer to fund purchases of ‘works of British artists, mostly perhaps young artists’ and mentioned five paintings already bought to this end.<sup>79</sup> Despite the express mention of youth, these first acquisitions were not of work by what would conventionally be considered young artists: they comprised paintings by Sandra Blow, Alan Davie and Roger Hilton. Sandra Blow, the youngest, was thirty-five.

Purchase data is not available at regular intervals, but the final table in Appendix 3 shows the consistently high proportion of early-career buys in subsequent Gulbenkian purchases: between the end of 1961 and the end of 1965, the proportion of work bought by artists aged under thirty-five ranged between 69% and 83%. These first acquisitions therefore seem slightly anomalous, although schemes often begin by looking back at recent artists who have been ‘missed’ (as demonstrated by the first Turner Prize shortlist). A more characteristic purchase would be work like Phillip King’s *Ripple*, which had been exhibited in the *Biennale des Jeunes* in Paris.<sup>80</sup> When the British Council’s collecting activities for the Calouste Gulbenkian foundation were later evaluated in a draft paper titled ‘The Gulbenkian Grant’, the report commented proudly that the British Council ‘in particular [...] have been able to

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<sup>77</sup> Tate Archive: Lilian Somerville: Papers of Lilian Somerville, TGA 867 (uncatalogued). Internal British Council memorandum dated 28 May 1969.

<sup>78</sup> Tate Archive: British Council London: Correspondence on the Permanent Collection presentation and Gulbenkian Collection of Modern British Art, TGA 200317/6/4. Letter from Christopher Rye, assistant director of the Calouste Gulbenkian foundation to Lilian Somerville. He appointed Dennis Farr and Somerville as the two buyers. Medium was not stipulated.

<sup>79</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meeting of 24 May 1960.

<sup>80</sup> Its purchase had been recommended by Alan Bowness and Roland Penrose: see an undated letter from G.M. Forty. Tate Archive: British Council London: Correspondence on the Permanent Collection presentation and Gulbenkian Collection of Modern British Art, TGA 200317/6/4.

buy fairly extensively among the works of younger artists, some of whom are already achieving considerable reputations—with a consequent increase in their prices’.<sup>81</sup>

This purchasing strategy was consistent with an interest in young British artists perceptible in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation’s other activities. In 1959 it committed £75,000 to fund a new exhibition space in the Royal College of Art.<sup>82</sup> In 1960 the Foundation announced ‘a scheme for helping promising young artists to create works of art rather than rely upon jobs’.<sup>83</sup> The scheme favoured artists under thirty who normally worked in Britain.<sup>84</sup> The Foundation also supported the establishment of the Artists’ Information Registry (A.I.R.) slide database of recent graduates’ work,<sup>85</sup> and in 1965 it sponsored (with the British Council) the exhibition *London: The New Scene* at the Walker Arts Centre in Liverpool.

Despite the Gulbenkian’s agency in providing a grant to the British Council and stipulating that young artists’ work be bought, the collection was gathered using the expertise of Lilian Somerville at the British Council and Dennis Farr at the Tate. This bears emphasis as the Council’s role in forming the collection is now often overlooked. *As Dreamers Do* was a 2010 exhibition of ‘one of the most remarkable collections of British art outside the United Kingdom’ at the Gulbenkian’s Paris branch. The press release for the exhibition made no mention of the British Council despite the fact that the exhibition comprised substantially these purchases.<sup>86</sup> Agency is further complicated by the involvement of other now familiar characters in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation’s U.K. branch Arts Advisory Committee, of which Coldstream, and then Lawrence Gowing, were Chairmen.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Tate Archive: British Council London: Correspondence on the Permanent Collection presentation and Gulbenkian Collection of Modern British Art, TGA 200317/6/4. Note marked #Gen/647/13.

<sup>82</sup> Anonymous, *New Building for the Royal College of Art* (London: Lion and Unicorn / R.C.A., 1959), p. 5. It was built from 1960–62.

<sup>83</sup> Anonymous, ‘Helping Young Painters’, *The Times*, Tuesday 19 December 1961, p. 5.

<sup>84</sup> Ana de Vasconcelos e Melo, ‘The Camjap Collection of Contemporary British Art’, in *Treasure Island*, exh. cat. (Lisbon: Centro de Arte Moderna José de Azeredo Perdigão, 1997), pp. 61–64 (p. 62). Melo stresses that Margaret McLeod, Somerville’s personal assistant, considered this activity ‘eminently philanthropic, helping respected artists at difficult times in their careers, drawing attention to a certain number of young artists, rather than the organized policy of an internationally renowned museum’.

<sup>85</sup> Margaret Garlake, ‘Infrastructures: Formation and Networks 1950–75’, in *Sculpture in Twentieth Century Britain, Volume I: Identity, Infrastructures, Aesthetics, Display, Reception*, ed. by Penelope Curtis (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2003), pp. 155–166 (p.163).

<sup>86</sup> <<http://www.gulbenkian.org.uk/events/events/98-As-Dreamers-Do-.html>> [Accessed 25 January 2012]. *Treasure Island*, a 1997 exhibition in Lisbon, did include this history. See *Treasure Island* exh. cat., op. cit.

<sup>87</sup> Andrew Stephenson, ‘Painting and Sculpture of a Decade 54–64 revisited’, *Art History* (April 2012), 420–441 (p. 427).

The Gulbenkian collection did not, as had been hoped, enter the British Council's collection permanently.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless the fund's size relative to the Council's own grant meant that this episode formed a significant part of the Council's collecting history. In the long-term the fund's express preference for young artists acclimatized the Council to a new and more speculative pattern of collecting through an acute episode of collecting in this artist demographic.

The correlation between the advent of the Gulbenkian grant and a transition in the Council's own collecting policy is strikingly close: in figure 1, the sharp rise of the British Council graph in 1960 and its drop soon after the end of 1965 corresponds exactly with the duration of the Gulbenkian exercise. This influence is especially striking given the accidental side-effect of the Gulbenkian arrangement: having represented Pop and Situation works so well in the Gulbenkian purchases, the British Council did not buy extensively in these areas on its own behalf. This demonstrates again the Council's hope that these works might be gifted to them, which can be seen in correspondence with the Foundation: periodically letters from the Foundation took issue with the Council referring to the purchases as 'its' works. All this makes the Gulbenkian buys a part of the Council's collecting history. Moreover, because many of the British Council's own early young purchases were of work which did not belong to those movements typically associated with youth bought for the Gulbenkian—like Pop and Situation—it raises the possibility that the youth of artists had now become a desirable criterion in its own right. In any event, the Council's search for inexpensive yet prudent purchases was by now leading it to consider carefully young artists' work.

### Other Factors

The Gulbenkian influence on British Council collecting was supplemented by further external factors. It is notable that during the period of growing the Gulbenkian collection, the British Council frequently received requests for young artists' shows. A high water-mark was reached in May 1966, when the Fine Arts Committee recorded requests for two exhibitions titled *Young Painters*, one for *Young Sculptors in Paris*, and one for *Young Painters and*

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<sup>88</sup> This outcome was clarified only in 1970. The collection was to revert to Lisbon, but part was allowed to remain on loan to the British Council: see the letter from Alexander Dunbar to Lilian Somerville of 23 September 1970. Tate Archive: British Council London: Correspondence on the Permanent Collection presentation and Gulbenkian Collection of Modern British Art, TGA 200317/6/5. Until shortly before the 1983 opening of the Centro de Arte Moderna, forty-five works from the collection remained on loan to the British Council, and 129 works were housed at the Gulbenkian's London building in Portland Place: see Melo, 'The Camjap Collection', p. 63. Alan Bowness recalled wider disappointment that the Calouste Gulbenkian wealth was not used in Britain more, including for the National Gallery. See his interview in *Treasure Island*, pp. 65–69 (p. 69).



*Sculptors*.<sup>89</sup> The shape of the British Council's collection was influenced by the exhibitions it mounted because circulating exhibitions required work from the British Council collection. The patterns of requests for loans from its collection therefore meant that this demand was likely to influence, indirectly, the collection's growth.

British Council collection and display policies were not formalized until 1976 when, as at the Tate, the tone seems to have been altogether more moderate, situating the young demographic alongside other career phases in order to achieve a more balanced collecting approach.<sup>90</sup> The conclusion was summarized in the 1976 policy document itself:

It is clearly necessary to exhibit the work of the 'established' moderns (such as Moore, Sutherland, Caro or Riley, all of whom were shown by the Council long before their reputations had been made) and of the middle generation who are in the process of consolidating their position. But, if the artistic vitality of the country is to be properly demonstrated, the avant-garde of experimental artists who are breaking new ground and out of whose work the mainstream art of the future may evolve, must equally be shown.<sup>91</sup>

The mention of having shown those four established artists before their reputations were made makes an ostensibly balanced statement rather imbalanced. Those artists were listed both because they were established and because they had been bought young: that is, because they vindicated the belief that judicious use of expertise could achieve value for money from young artist purchases, rather than because they moderated the collecting policy as examples of purchases of more established artists' work.

A history of timely acquisitions is now a much-emphasized aspect of the British Council collection. *Passports* was a display of the collection at the Whitechapel in 2009 with the subtitle 'Great Early Buys from the British Council Collection', where 'early' was allowed to mean both historically early and early-career. The short text for the exhibition stated:

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<sup>89</sup> *Young Sculptors in Paris* and one *Young Painters* were for Paris, one *Young Painters* was for Australia and New Zealand, and *Young Painters and Sculptors* was for Buenos Aires. British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meeting of 17 May 1966. Of a total of fourteen requests for exhibitions, four were for young artists' work, and a further two were contemporary so could have incorporated such work. Note also earlier (much less frequent) examples, as in British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 1, meeting of 29 June 1949. Here, an exhibition of work by art students from the Commonwealth had been requested by South Africa, Australia and Canada. The proposed selection committee comprised Coldstream, Johnstone, Darwin and Allan Gwynne-Jones.

<sup>90</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meeting of 29 April 1976. A collection subcommittee was formed.

<sup>91</sup> British Council Fine Arts (General) Committee minutes book 2, meeting of 3 November 1976. These minutes included a document titled 'The Criteria used by the Fine Arts Advisory Committee in the selection of artists for inclusion in British Council exhibition'.

the reason so many works had been purchased relatively inexpensively was because they were acquired early in the artist's career, when such a purchase might have been genuinely useful to the artist and before a hyper-active market in their work had been established. The British Council was not following the market, but anticipating it.<sup>92</sup>

If the Gulbenkian Foundation played an important role in steering the Council towards this policy, it is notable that the protagonists most closely involved soon felt ambivalent about it. A letter from Alexander Dunbar of the Gulbenkian Foundation to Lilian Somerville in 1970 mentioned their shared concern. He wrote:

when we met last time I discussed with you briefly the problem of the 'middle generation' of artists. Meaning, not the bright young man for whom quite a lot is done and some of whom are very successful, nor yet the grand old man who has earned recognition, retrospectives, honour and tax problems, but those in between.<sup>93</sup>

He asked Somerville what help could be given to those artists, and whether she would draw up a list of artists who should be helped.

### The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Tate

In addition to its influence on the British Council, the Gulbenkian Foundation played a role at the Tate. Although the changes to the Tate's acquisition policy identified above had already occurred, an exhibition titled *54–64: Painting and Sculpture of a Decade* made clear inadequacies in the Tate's collection of contemporary work. An ambitious survey of contemporary art shown at the Tate in 1964, the exhibition was proposed by Lawrence Gowing but organized entirely by the Gulbenkian Foundation.<sup>94</sup> In a reply to a letter highlighting catalogue errors (many of the paintings had been illustrated upside down or back to front), John Rothenstein emphasized this distance. He wrote unequivocally that the

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<sup>92</sup> Andrea Rose, *Passports: Great Early Buys from the British Council Collection Selected by Michael Craig-Martin* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2009). Leaflet, text by the Director of Visual Arts at the British Council.

<sup>93</sup> Tate Archive: Lilian Somerville: Papers of Lilian Somerville, TGA 867 (uncatalogued). Letter from Alexander Dunbar to Lilian Somerville dated 11 May 1970.

<sup>94</sup> Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions, TG 92/181/1. Letter from Director to Gowing dated 17 November 1961: 'At their meeting yesterday the Trustees warmly welcomed the proposal outlined in your letter to me of 10 November, for an international exhibition of painting and sculpture of the highest quality produced in the decade 1954–64'.

Tate was 'in no way responsible for the organization of the 54–64 exhibition or for the production of the catalogue'.<sup>95</sup>

What the organization of the exhibition demonstrated, however, was that the Tate continued to suffer from substantial gaps in its modern and contemporary collection. Sculptures in the Tate's collection that fitted the exhibition's brief were listed in a letter to trustee Robert Sainsbury: in his reply he observed the list's brevity, writing that it 'certainly makes grim reading and I feel myself that one is forced to the conclusion that as far as "contemporary" foreign sculpture is concerned the Tate is not functioning'.<sup>96</sup> The Tate's anaemic collection of recent art was noticed across the board, and a memorandum from Rothenstein listed artists from the exhibition whom staff considered to be priorities for purchase.<sup>97</sup> The problem was not one of absence of young artists so much as absence of art of the last ten years generally (which now included much work by young artists). To this extent 54–64 was arguably symptomatic of the difficulties the Tate continued to confront: the exhibition sought to consolidate the museum's position as an exhibitor of up-to-date contemporary art but it needed external help to do so. The catalogue argued that the show expressed a prevailing 'readiness to live in the present, to an extent that art has never lived before, and also the opposite frame of mind, a kind of historicism, an engrossment with the "tradition of the new" which is equally characteristic',<sup>98</sup> a reminder of the conundrum with which this chapter began. The exhibition also manifested the shortage of funding that necessitated an appeal to the Gulbenkian; Rothenstein hoped to crystallize the arrangement and have a similar Gulbenkian-sponsored exhibition every three years.<sup>99</sup>

There was indeed a broader speculation that the Gulbenkian might fund an extension for shows of modern art, which it eventually did to an extent by contributing £250,000 for the

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<sup>95</sup> Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions, TG 92/181/1. Rothenstein wrote to W.R. Smith, at Sarah Robinson School, Crawley. He was replying to a letter of 25 June 1964.

<sup>96</sup> Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions, TG 92/181/1. Letter from Robert Sainsbury to Ronald Alley dated 13 May 1964.

<sup>97</sup> Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions, TG 92/181/2. 'List A' included Dubuffet, Gottlieb, Kline, David Smith, Frankenthaler, Motherwell, and Rauschenberg.

<sup>98</sup> Untitled Introductory Essay, *54–64: Painting and Sculpture of a Decade*, exh. cat. (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1964), pp. 7–48 (p. 12). Authorship is not stated, so can be presumed to be a collaboration between the coordinators Alan Bowness, Lawrence Gowing and Philip James.

<sup>99</sup> Tate Public Records: Tate Exhibitions, TG 92/181/2. Letter of 21 October to Gulbenkian board offering a repeat Tate show in 1967 and every three years thereafter: 'I have been asked by the Trustees to express their hope that the Foundation may see fit to finance some exhibition on these lines as a regular feature at the Tate gallery'.

new galleries which opened in 1979.<sup>100</sup> Interestingly, the Gulbenkian's focus on young artists began to retreat soon after this. In 1985 David Brown of the Tate was appointed as a buyer for the Calouste Gulbenkian collection. According to Ana de Vasconcelos e Melo's history of that collection, by this point 'there was a general agreement about the advantage of acquiring significant pieces, even if it should mean fewer pieces at higher prices, rather than flood the foundation's stock with works by very recent artists'.<sup>101</sup>

### Conclusion: A Modified Landscape of Patronage

The art historian Donald Preziosi poetically called the museum 'an optical instrument for the refracting of society and its history or histories into biography and narrative, into the prologue to our presentness'.<sup>102</sup> The developments described here represented a merging of prologue with present, as the history of British art—as collected and narrated by the British Council, the Arts Council and the Tate—grew increasingly recent and anticipatory. This shift reflected the wider social interest in youth described in chapter I and the development of exhibitions for young artists discussed in the previous chapter. It was also very significant in its own right: the nascent state of private patronage amplified the effects of this public patronage.<sup>103</sup>

By way of historical accident, this willingness of collections to acquire work by young artists also perhaps provided a counterpoint to the formalized role given to art history in art schools by the Coldstream Reports. If museums and public collections are engines of art history, the quick entry of young artist graduates into such collections arguably made this association between practice and art history more immediate. In his capacity as an educator, Coldstream emphasized the importance of art history in art schools, while in his capacity as an artist he promoted the entry of new artists' work into museum collections. These efforts are perhaps complementary, tackling the distance he perceived between young artists and art history from both ends. Sir John Summerson (later author of the Summerson Report)

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<sup>100</sup> Stephenson, 'Painting and Sculpture of a Decade 54–64 revisited', p. 425.

<sup>101</sup> Melo, 'The Camjap Collection', p. 64.

<sup>102</sup> Donald Preziosi, 'Brain of the Earth's Body: Museums and the Framing of Modernity', in *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork*, ed. by Paul Duro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 96–110 (p. 102).

<sup>103</sup> In his research on the *New Generation* sculpture show, for example, Tim Marlow noted that of the twenty-four sales from the exhibition, fourteen were to public or quasi-public collections (the British Council, the Arts Council, Tate and the Stuyvesant Foundation). Tim Marlow, 'The Marketing and Impact of New Generation Sculpture' (unpublished master's thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988), pp. 18, 23 and 24.

asserted in 1960: ‘whatever a Professor of Fine Art may have been in 1870 or 1900 or 1930—prophet, painter, connoisseur or wit—it is pretty clear what he is now. He is an art-historian’.<sup>104</sup> The claim seems slightly extravagant, but was more credible after educational reforms and these shifts in acquisition policies than before them.

As the graph in Figure 1 and as Appendices 3 and 4 show, in the 1950s and 1960s artists’ work was more frequently and consistently bought by public collections at an earlier stage in artists’ careers than before, to a striking extent. This is consistent with the broad public realm concern to nurture a younger audience that can be seen particularly in the Tate. Frances Spalding’s history of the Tate written at the close of the century cites *British Painting in the ‘Sixties*, *Decade 54–64*, *Recent British Painting*, the *Peter Stuyvesant Foundation Collection*, and the *Young Contemporaries* as evidence of this drive, and noted too the introduction of a very young trustee, Phillip King, in 1969.<sup>105</sup>

Chapters III and IV discussed the contemporary conversation about the possible side-effects of exhibiting young artists work. The effect of the encouragement described in this chapter touches on the same debate, but it also gave the trend a more permanent legacy by shaping collections that still exist today. Arguably this type of patronage had more practical consequences, too, altering the type of work artists could produce. The art historian Francis Haskell noted the close correlation between the designation of the Luxembourg museum as a museum for living artists in 1818 and Géricault’s decision in the same month to paint an enormous canvas of the sinking of the *Medusa*. Haskell asked: ‘What home, other than a museum, can Géricault have hoped to find for a painting of this kind?’ referring to its scale and ‘unprecedented depiction of a painful and unpleasant subject, unredeemed by religious, mythological, or historical justification’.<sup>106</sup> A consequence of the expansion of public patronage for young artists was similar liberation from conventional subjects, media and dimensions, as young artists departed from the strictures of easel painting. As such, the changes described here have important art-historical ramifications in so far as they facilitated new kinds of art work. By 1960, when Arts Council and Tate patronage of the young was in its second decade, Lilian Somerville rejected the relatively accommodating size

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<sup>104</sup> John Summerson, *What is a Professor of Fine Art?* (Hull: University of Hull, 1961), p. 15. This was his inaugural lecture at the University of Hull, delivered on 17 November 1960.

<sup>105</sup> Spalding, *The Tate*, p. 150–1. King was thirty-three at his appointment.

<sup>106</sup> Francis Haskell, ‘The Artist and the Museum’, *New York Review of Books* (3 December 1987).

allowance stipulated by the Gulbenkian Foundation for their purchases. Her reply asserted: 'There are practically none of the younger artists who paint on such a small scale'.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Tate Archive: Lilian Somerville: Papers of Lilian Somerville, TGA 867 (uncatalogued). Letter from Lilian Somerville to Christopher Rye at the Gulbenkian Foundation dated 17 June 1969.

## VI. The Image of the Young Artist and the Idea of Beginning

### Introduction

Chapters II to V have described changes which contributed to an increasing focus on young and emerging artists between 1949 and 1988 across a range of institutions: art schools, commercial and public galleries, and collections. This chapter balances their institutional account with cultural criticism, emphasizing the close association between the idea of youth and the persona of the creative artist. These resonances amplified the effects of institutional changes, and hence inform the popularity and endurance of the emerging artist concept.

The principal components embedded within the notion of the emerging artist are threefold:

- (1) a conflation of youth with the avant-garde and originality;
- (2) the idea that creativity peaks early, and a related taste for 'early style';
- (3) associations between obsolescence and youth.

This chapter considers these positions, beginning by resuming the generational discussion in chapter I. It concludes by critically engaging with the notion of 'beginning' that characterizes the emerging artist.

### (1) Youth and the Avant-Garde.

### Youth and Progressiveness

There is nothing new about being young, rebellious, wanton or doing experimental things.<sup>1</sup>

Jennie Lee, 1970

The use of age and generation to connote artistic mutability within a broadly evolutionary model of artistic progress was discussed in chapter I. This understanding framed young artists as bellwethers watched in order to perceive future artistic directions, an identification of youth with progress which is not confined to art. Of its broader political iteration, the sociologist Daniel Bell expressed a common view that: 'each new generation, starting off at the benchmarks attained by the adversary culture of their cultural parents, declares in

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<sup>1</sup> Jennie Lee, 'Artistic Revolutionaries', *The Times*, 10 April 1970, p. 8 This was an extract from Lee's speech in the House of Commons.

sweeping fashion that the status quo represents a state of absolute repression, so that, in a widening gyre, new and fresh assaults on the social structure are mounted'.<sup>2</sup> The historian Philip Abrams likewise asserted: '[r]ebellion is particularly a young man's affair'.<sup>3</sup> These views occupy a landscape in which youth and progressiveness are as one, a conflation perhaps best exemplified by Tony Blair's early formulation of New Labour at the 1995 Labour Party Conference: 'I want us to be a young country again'.<sup>4</sup>

As Karl Mannheim has written: 'Nothing is more false than the usual assumption [...] that the younger generation is "progressive" and the older generation *eo ipso* conservative'.<sup>5</sup> Where youth and progress or social change happen to coincide, it is as likely that youth involvement reflects progress as the reverse, or that the two phenomena share common contributing factors.<sup>6</sup> Likewise in art: cultural institutions receptive to avant-garde discourse may be amenable to the emergence of young artists, too.

### Youth and the Avant-Garde

If conflation of youth and progress is misleading, the more specific identification between youth and the avant-garde might not be. This is not because of qualities young artists possess, but rather because the two concepts are themselves closely related. Both youth and the avant-garde emphasize the concept of the beginning. Rosalind Krauss commented: '[m]ore than a rejection or dissolution of the past, avant-garde originality is conceived as a literal origin, a beginning from ground zero, a birth [...] originality becomes an organicist metaphor referring not so much to formal invention as to sources of life'.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Daniel Bell, 'The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism', *Journal of Aesthetic Education* (January–April 1972), 11–38 (p. 18).

<sup>3</sup> Philip Abrams, 'Rites de Passage: The Conflict of Generations in Industrial Society', *The Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.5 no.1 (1970), 175–190 (p. 179).

<sup>4</sup> Neal Ascherson, 'Opinion: Blair has Better things to Sell us than the Snake Oil of Youth', *The Independent*, Sunday 8 October 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Karl Mannheim, 'The Sociological Problem of Generations', reprinted in *Younger than Jesus: The Generation Book*, ed. by Cornell, Gioni, Hoptman and Sholis (New York: New Museum, 2009), pp. 163–195 (p. 184), footnote 8. See also Norman Ryder, 'The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change', *American Sociological Review* vol.30 no.6 (December 1965), 843–861.

<sup>6</sup> Eisenstadt gave the examples of youth movements in the formation of Germany and Italy as nation states. Pitirim Sorokin argued that the Protestant Reformation, and the French and American Revolutions were especially youthful: Pitirim Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality* (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 193. Frank Musgrove, *Youth and the Social Order* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 125. This was first published in 1964.

<sup>7</sup> Rosalind Krauss 'The Originality of the Avant-Garde: A Postmodernist Repetition', *October*, vol.18 (autumn 1981), 47–76 (p. 53).



Such is the proximity between these two concepts that the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, who disliked the term *avant-garde*, went so far as to suggest using ‘the new, or young art’ in its place.<sup>8</sup> The terms appear to be used as though he got his way: see the critic Donald Kuspit’s recent assertion that *avant-garde* art aims ‘to keep itself looking permanently young, that is, immature if not fresh. *Avant-garde* art [...] wants to stay young forever’.<sup>9</sup> Or, equally, the curator Massimiliano Gioni’s view that the ‘history of art is transformed into a history of revolutions. The *avant-garde* is the fountain of eternal youth’.<sup>10</sup> These usages suggest that the qualities identified by Krauss influence the use and understanding of the notion of the *avant-garde*, further contributing to an expectation that artistic progress (or art without precedent) might originate with young artists.

### Romantic Desire for Absolute Originality

In 1962, a high watermark of the emphasis on youth identified in this dissertation, the literary critic Renato Poggioli suggested that ‘the romantic and *avant-garde* cult of novelty and youth, that apocalyptic anguish, that anxious longing for palingenesis which distinguishes our culture’ was itself assuming new properties:

What characterizes *avant-garde* art is the myth of the new. It is often said that the taste or cult of the new is not a new thing, and that is very well said. There is no great difference in the concrete concept that the ancients and the moderns have of the new; but there is an enormous difference in their respective evaluations of it. Whereas the ancients considered the new as at most a relative value, the moderns almost always treat it as an absolute.<sup>11</sup>

This was not entirely true: in her historiographic account of the concept of the artist, the art historian Catherine Soussloff related absolute originality and newness to the autochthonous characters of classical mythology, contradicting the relative value Poggioli gave to ancient novelty. These autochthonous creatures were Greek gods of the underworld, who sprang from the soil without parentage or lineage, entirely self-generated, and offered for Soussloff

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<sup>8</sup> Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. by Gerald Fitzgerald (Harvard and London: Belknap, 1968), pp. 5–6.

<sup>9</sup> Donald Kuspit, ‘The Trouble with Youth’ *Artnet* magazine  
<<http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/features/kuspit/kuspit8-17-07.asp>> [accessed 12 August 2012].

<sup>10</sup> Massimiliano Gioni, ‘We are Too Many’, in *Younger than Jesus*, pp. 31–42 (p. 33).

<sup>11</sup> Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, pp. 212. and 214.

an early iteration of the tension between artist biography and the conceit that artists' work is somehow essential, and without lineage.<sup>12</sup>

If an absolute novelty was not itself new, perhaps the transformation Poggioli identified can more credibly be attached to originality. The literary critic Kurt Heinzelman identified this shift towards a more absolute originality, but gave the change early modern origins dating to the French Revolution: '[s]lightly before the outbreak of the French Revolution [...] the meaning of "originality" changed from "going back to origins" to "being without origins"'.<sup>13</sup> These writers all point to a Romantic appetite for novelty or originality, but offer no clear consensus that a shift in those concepts can be located in the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless the recurring presentation of young and emerging artists in the 1950s and 1960s offers a very clear example of the absolute newness to which they refer. Repeated emphasis on emergence complicates chronology by presenting only a series of beginnings. As the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman put it: 'shifting attention replaces a sense of historical process with that of a collection of unconnected and inconsequential episodes; it flattens historical time into a "perpetual present"'.<sup>14</sup> Giorgio Agamben described the same effect of atemporality differently:

paintings are not immobile images, but stills charged with movement, stills from a film that is missing [...]. But what is the history involved? Here it must be stressed that it is not a matter of a chronological history in the strict sense, but of a messianic history. Messianic history is defined by two major characteristics. First it is a history of salvation: something must be saved. But it is also a final history, an eschatological history, in which something must be completed, judged.<sup>15</sup>

Fixation upon artistic emergence offers a peculiar form of this temporal flattening as its instruments (generation) and its backdrop (art-historical precedent) both lend it a historical

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<sup>12</sup> Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Absolute Artist: The Historiography of a Concept* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 44–45. See also Martin Green's summary of the Sonnerkind tradition associating unfamiliarity and foreignness with being 'of the sky' and associating youth with sunrise and triumph over darkness. Martin Green, *Children of the Sun: A Narrative of Decadence in England after 1918* (London: Constable, 1977), p. 501.

<sup>13</sup> Kurt Heinzelman, "'Make it New': The Rise of an Idea", in *Make it New: The Rise of Modernism* (Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas, 2003), pp. 131–133 (p. 131). This publication accompanied an exhibition from 21 October 2003 to 7 March 2004. Edward Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759) was the focus of Heinzelman's discussion. He also suggested parallels in the idea of innovation, asserting that it originally had connotations of renewal and restoration rather than 'new' creation.

<sup>14</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 239.

<sup>15</sup> Giorgio Agamben, 'Difference and Repetition: On Guy Debord's Films', trans. by Brian Holmes, in, *Situationist International: Texts and Documents*, ed. by Tom McDonough (Boston: M.I.T. Press, 2004), pp. 313–320 (p. 314).

character. A mismatch therefore exists between the taste for art-historical narrative and preoccupation with novelty: together, they offer both a perpetual present and a conclusion, but deny attention to any linking, intermediate phases. They thus evoke Hal Foster's criticism of the historically 'punctual and final' presumption embedded in much avant-garde discourse, where arrival of avant-garde work is treated as if sudden and from nowhere. Foster argued that any development in fact comes about through much slower evolution, and depends fundamentally on context. He asked:

Did Duchamp appear as 'Duchamp'? Of course not, and yet he is often presented thus, full-blown from his own forehead. Did *Les Femmes d'Alger* of Picasso emerge as the crux of modernist painting that it is now taken to be? Obviously not, and yet it is often treated as immaculate in conception and reception. The status of Duchamp as well as *Les Femmes d'Alger* is a retroactive effect of countless artistic responses and critical readings, and so it goes across the dialogical space-time of avant-garde practice and institutional reception.<sup>16</sup>

The expectation of developments appearing 'full-blown' from a forehead may be wrong, but it is exactly this expectation that inspires so much attention to be given to emerging artists.

### Young/Old and Emergent/Dominant: The Sovereignty of the Emerging Artist

Chapter I discussed Raymond Williams's conceptualization of emergent culture, and the distinction he drew between what was truly emergent and what was merely novel. Williams also made important observations about the relationship between dominant and emergent culture, specifically the problem that 'the basis of incorporation [...] is the effective predominance of received [...] forms—an incorporation, so to say, which already conditions and limits the emergence'.<sup>17</sup> Emergence describes a negotiation between (old) authority and (new) freedom; a tension between past and future, as transgression is absorbed within a normalizing structure, in this case the artistic canon. T.S. Eliot expressed it as follows:

The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is

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<sup>16</sup> Hal Foster, 'What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?', *October*, vol. 70 (autumn 1994), 5–32 (p. 13). This is a rephrasing of Wyndham Lewis's *Paleface*: 'Each fresh novelty is accepted with a sort of fatalism as the only possible novelty [...] as through it had dropped from the sky [...] instead of, as is the case, been invented by a fat little man somewhere in Paris'. In Rod Rosenquist, *Modernism, the Market, and the Institution of the New* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> Raymond Williams, 'Dominant, Residual and Emergent', in *Art in Theory 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 979–983 (p. 981). The essay was originally published in 1977.

complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the whole existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new.<sup>18</sup>

The process Eliot described is circular, a characteristic more simply framed by Robert Hughes: ‘the essence of the avant-garde myth is that the artist is a precursor; the truly significant work of art is the one that prepares the future. The transitional focus of culture, on the other hand, tends to treat the present (the living artist) as the culmination of the past’.<sup>19</sup>

Temporal exchange like this serves a purpose of mutual legitimation: the emergent or avant-garde is validated and historicized, while art history’s capacity to absorb even the most radical experiment bolsters its stature as a monolithic entity, keeping it contemporary and alive in the process. The circularity of legal sovereignty provides a close analogy for this looping effect. Legal theorists such as Dennis Lloyd suggest that in jurisprudence, this circularity is deliberate: sovereignty’s rule-making authority is located in—and signaled by—the sovereign’s power to make exceptions to such rules. This lends authority and legitimacy a positivist quality: being autonomous, and deriving authority from within, permits the sovereign to stand free from value judgments.<sup>20</sup>

In the light of Raymond Williams’s observations, applying this legal understanding to the concept of the emerging artist would suggest that the idea of emergence, similarly, can serve positivist conceptions of art-historical precedent. To this extent it has conservative undertones. Although perceived as innovative and in some respects contingent, preoccupation with young and emerging artists—by promoting a positivist art history—militates for art-historical stability. In the case of the avant-garde’s analogue in sovereignty, the ‘state of exception’, this quality is more widely understood. For example, the cultural theorist Slavoj Žižek has suggested that when ‘a state institution proclaims a state of emergency, it does so by definition as part of a desperate strategy to avoid the true emergency and return to the “normal course of things”’.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, art historian Malcolm

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<sup>18</sup> T.S. Eliot, ‘The Function of Criticism’, quoted in James Johnson Sweeney, ‘Art History and the Artist’, *Art Journal*, vol.20 no.3 (spring 1961), 143–144.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1980), p. 366.

<sup>20</sup> Dennis Lloyd, *The Idea of Law* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 176.

<sup>21</sup> Slavoj Žižek, ‘Love Thy Neighbour, Are We In a War? Do We Have an Enemy?’, *London Review of Books*, vol.24 no.10 (23 May 2002), 3–6 (p. 5).

Bull described the exception as a formal device which allows ‘the state to exist even as the law recedes’, and ‘provides a bridge across the abyss between two moments of law’.<sup>22</sup> A positivist art-historical canon, with a scope determinable only by itself, is strengthened through the institution of the emerging artist for the reasons discussed above. Their mutual legitimization accords with the structural view of the culture industry given by Adorno, who perceived its underlying ‘scaffolding of rigidly conservative basic categories’: ‘What parades as progress in the culture industry, as the incessantly new which it offers up, remains the disguise for an eternal sameness’.<sup>23</sup>

### The Failure of the Avant-Garde and the Rise of Emergence

If the emerging artist concept offers this proxy for the avant-garde, emphasis on the emerging artist must also be considered in the light of ideas of the redundancy of the avant-garde. On the one hand, the philosopher Habermas has considered the avant-garde ‘a nonsense experiment’, because ‘nothing remains from a desublimated meaning or a destructed form: an emancipatory effect does not follow’.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, the avant-garde confronts similar oblivion through success: in the words of Daniel Bell again, ‘the avant-garde has won its victory. A society given over entirely to innovation, in the joyful acceptance of change, has in fact institutionalized an avant-garde and charged it—perhaps to its own eventual dismay—with constantly turning up something new’.<sup>25</sup> The future of the avant-garde is beyond the scope of this chapter. But if there is in fact no such thing as artistic progress, emphasis on emergence—with its consequent focus on birth and the life cycle—prolongs a language that offers the same promise of development and narrative coherence. It offers up a substitute avant-gardist discourse in place of discredited notions to which art appreciation nonetheless seems strongly attached.

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<sup>22</sup> Malcolm Bull, ‘States don’t really mind their citizens ding (provided they don’t all do it at once): they just don’t like anyone else to kill them’, *London Review of Books*, vol.26 no.24, (16 December 2004), 3–6 (p. 3). His quotation is of Karl Schmitt.

<sup>23</sup> Theodor Adorno, ‘Culture Industry Reconsidered’ in *The Adorno Reader*, ed. by Brian O Connor (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 230–238 (p. 233). See also Clement Greenberg, ‘Avant-Garde Attitudes: New Art in the Sixties’, *Studio International*, vol.179 no.921 (April 1970), 142–45 (p. 144): ‘Not that the avant-garde ever really meant revolution [...]. The avant-garde’s principal reason for being is, on the contrary, continuity: continuity of standards of quality’.

<sup>24</sup> Foster, ‘What’s Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?’, p. 17, quoting Habermas, *Modernity—An Incomplete Project* (1980).

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Bell, ‘The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism’, *Journal of Aesthetic Education* vol.6 no.1 (January–April 1972), 11–38 (p. 13).

## (2) Youthful Creativity and a Critical Taste for Early Style

Other people are young but once [...] But if the soul is of a powerful kind, as is the case with all men of natural genius, then [...] its animating penetration of the body [...] and its spiritual superiority confer the privilege of perpetual youth [...]. In men of superior endowments, even during their old age, we constantly perceive fresh epochs of singular productiveness; they seem [...] to grow young again for a time.<sup>26</sup> Goethe, 1828

An identification of creativity with youth is not entirely without empirical foundation. The psychologist Harvey Lehman surveyed historical figures from ten fields of science and fifteen areas of arts and published his findings in *Age and Achievement* in 1953. His inference was one of declining creativity with age, depending on discipline; he noted, for instance, that whereas mathematicians, chemists, physicists and poets worked best when young, biologists, geologists and novelists often improved with age. The behavioral scientist Martin Lindauer recently contested this model, citing a subsequent study by Lewis M. Terman on a large sample of living people. The study began in 1921 and tracked participants over the course of their lives; they were in their seventies by the time of Lindauer's summary. Retested as they grew into 'later maturity', Terman's subjects continued to demonstrate their earlier talents without signs of decline: 'The gifted children retained or even enhanced their superiority [especially] in those aspects of living and behavior that rely heavily on language, abstract thinking, and other intellectual skills'.<sup>27</sup>

David Galenson, from an economic background, has argued for plurality in modeling creativity's relationship with age and suggested that different artists displayed different patterns of creativity across their lives. Particularly, he proposed a distinction between 'experimental' and 'conceptual' innovations. The former, he argued, require trial and error and may depend on skills acquired slowly, suggesting development late in a career. 'In contrast, conceptual innovations are arrived at suddenly, as the product of new ideas, and can occur at any age. Radical conceptual innovations are in fact most often made by young artists, who have not yet become accustomed to existing conventions and traditional methods'.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Goethe, 'Conversations with Eckermann', 11 March 1828 <[www.hxa.name/books/ecog/Eckermann-conversationsofGoethe-1828.html](http://www.hxa.name/books/ecog/Eckermann-conversationsofGoethe-1828.html)> [accessed 12 August 2012].

<sup>27</sup> Martin S. Lindauer, *Aging, Creativity, and Art: A Positive Perspective on Late-Life Development* (New York and London: Springer, 2003), p. 75. Lewis M. Terman's project was titled 'Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children'.

<sup>28</sup> David Galenson, *Old Masters and Young Geniuses: The Two Life Cycles of Artistic Creativity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 10–11.

Such a distinction was in fact made by Lehman himself in his suggestion that ‘when a situation requires a new way of looking at things, the acquisition of new techniques, or even new vocabularies, the old seem stereotyped and rigid [...]. But when a situation requires a store of past knowledge then the old find their advantage over the young’.<sup>29</sup> The sentiment indicates what might lie beneath the expectation that to be young is to be creative: a sense that if rules and convention are anathema to (unfettered and free) creativity, then the young—being relatively unconditioned, thus the most free—must be best equipped to be creative.<sup>30</sup>

If this generalization is qualified by Galenson’s distinction, accounts of creativity as a ‘young’ enterprise should arguably be limited to conceptually rather than experimentally-oriented artistic innovation. Although a very crude simplification, this binary might logically suggest a relationship between a surge of interest in young or emerging artists and the prevailing art-historical shifts. It might suggest, for example, that minimalism or conceptualism required artistic practices which were better suited to development by young authors (although any such relationship would be complicated by questions of cause and effect).

### Early Style for Critics

Chapter III discussed criticisms of young artists’ work for lacking certain qualities expected of it. A corresponding perception of traces of artists’ youth within their work is similarly common. In his foreword to the 1950 *Young Contemporaries* catalogue, the Director of Visual Art at the Arts Council Philip James wrote, ‘It is a commonplace of art history that the work of an artist’s youth has certain qualities which are often lost as experience grows’.<sup>31</sup> What these qualities are is never adequately explained. As here, authors rarely specify; where they do, the descriptions can be opaque. ‘Freshness and youthful vigour’,<sup>32</sup> ‘coasting along and

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<sup>29</sup> Harvey Lehman, *Age and Achievement: Talent Development Across the Lifespan* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 330.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter II. This is an old association. See Helen Nelson, ‘The Creative Years,’ *The American Journal of Psychology*, vol 40. No.2 (April 1928), 303–311 (pp. 309–310): ‘Genius, so wary, so impatient of the habitual, so instinctively seizing upon the disparate elements of new and right combinations avoiding habit, can genius be said to become enchained by its habits of youth? Its habits of youth are habits towards freedom’.

<sup>31</sup> Philip James, ‘Foreword’, *Young Contemporaries: Art Students of Great Britain*, exh. cat. (London, 1950), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Lawrence Alloway, ‘The Heart of London’, *Art & Artists* vol.5 no.10 (Jan 1971), 24–25 (p. 25).

relaxing',<sup>33</sup> being 'farouche',<sup>34</sup> 'brash, overcharged',<sup>35</sup> or 'varied, vigorous, and exuberant'<sup>36</sup> are typical characterizations of young artists' work. So too was David Thompson's account of the 1964 *New Generation* exhibitors: 'There are two words that can be said to characterize the aesthetic aims and style of the "generation" represented here, they are "toughness" and "ambiguity". One reflects a desire to play it cool, be objective, unsentimental, detached and at the same time to pull no punches, be firm, decisive, hard. The other [...] can be seen in new colours, new shapes, and in techniques which spurn the marks and traces of the painting hand'.<sup>37</sup> A link between these adjectives and critics' perceptions of the artists whose work they described is obvious. John Berger suggested a possible justification for associating the two when he argued that young artists' work 'avoids the sterility of over self-consciousness or overspecialisation because it gains its vitality from the artists' convictions about life rather than art'.<sup>38</sup> If young artists' work did indeed derive from life experience rather than anything else, judging the work according to its artists' profiles might be appropriate.

The connection seems spurious, however, principally because it produces such vague analysis. Even ostensibly formal descriptions like Thompson's remain very general, connecting the artist's youth with colour or size. The *Burlington Magazine* praised work in the 1951 *Young Contemporaries* for 'so much colour, so much imagination that one wonders whether some of their more famous elders were equally alive before they lost their innocence in Bond Street'.<sup>39</sup> Two years later a review of Jack Smith suggested 'it is possible that the size, and the vitality of his pictures have something to do with his being young'.<sup>40</sup> All of these accounts identified artists with their work, projecting the attributes of one onto the other. Even clothes were subject to this translation. A review in the *Herald Tribune* of the 1967 show *Young British Painters* in Brussels wrote: 'England swung like a wedding bell with the covey of young artists and their companions, brought over to be admired along with

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<sup>33</sup> Lawrence Alloway, *Imagining the Present: Context, Content, and the role of the Critic. Essays by Lawrence Alloway*, ed. by Richard Kalina (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 87.

<sup>34</sup> Anonymous, 'Students' Shop Window', *The Times*, Thursday 26 February 1959, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> John Minton, 'Three Young Contemporaries', *Ark*, 13 (spring 1955), 12–13 (p. 13).

<sup>36</sup> Sidney Simon, 'From England's Green and Pleasant Bowers', in *Art News* vol.64 no.2 (April 1965), 29–31 and 64–65 (p. 29) reviewing *London: the New Scene* (Minneapolis and Washington DC).

<sup>37</sup> David Thompson, *The New Generation: 1964* exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel, 1964), p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> John Berger, 'Foreword', *Looking Forward: An Exhibition of Realist Pictures by Contemporary British Artists*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel, 1952), unpaginated.

<sup>39</sup> Anonymous review of *Young Contemporaries*, *Burlington Magazine*, vol.93 no.575 (February 1951) (p. 66).

<sup>40</sup> Anonymous, 'Young Painters of Talent', *The Times*, 12 February 1953, p. 10.



their paintings. They wandered about in flowered shirts, soft-flowing ties and mini-skirts in colors to match the canvases—hot and strong’.<sup>41</sup>

### Early Style in Scientific Study

Studies by Martin Lindauer would indicate that no formal artistic shibboleths of youth exist, to a lay audience at least: the work of young artists does not share any identifiable traits. When presented with pairs of work by the same artist, one made when young and the other when old, a sample group was unable to determine which was which with any accuracy. To quote Lindauer’s findings: works were ‘incorrectly judged by a majority of judges (62%). That is, older works were wrongly judged to be painted by younger artists’.

When the participants’ explanations were given, they perhaps supported Galenson’s earlier dichotomy, to the extent that most participants presumed the work they were judging to be experimentally rather than conceptually novel:

Older artists, they reasonably assumed, have greater training, skill, and expertise than younger and less experienced artists. The judges therefore believed that older art should display more technical virtuosity and skill than youthful examples, given aging artists’ greater maturity and competence. But older art with an old-age style, according to art historians, is formless, ambiguous, fragmented, unfinished, and hurriedly done. Thus, untrained judges erroneously interpreted the more dazzling youthful works as the product of older artists.<sup>42</sup>

Although it used a non-expert sample, these experiments suggest that formal qualities typically attributed to young artists are imperfect signifiers of youth. An especially interesting outcome was the finding that certain types of art were more commonly associated with youth than others: ‘81% of the judges erroneously attributed older abstract works to younger artists’.<sup>43</sup> Beyond specific connoisseurship, where discerning late work from early work is possible through familiarity with an artist’s oeuvre, efforts to stabilize or identify a more universal notion of ‘early style’ confront too great a variety to carry any meaning. Philip Guston wrote that the work of Piero della Francesca ‘has a kind of

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<sup>41</sup> Rona Dobson, ‘Brussels: Swinging English Artists Import Fantasy and Color’, *Herald Tribune* (undated) Tate Archive: British Council, London: Press cuttings for Young British Painters, Brussels 1967, TGA 200317/2/1/23.

<sup>42</sup> Lindauer, *Aging, Creativity, and Art*, p. 198.

<sup>43</sup> Lindauer, *Aging, Creativity, and Art*, p. 199.

innocence or freshness about it, as if he was a messenger from God, looking at the world for the first time'.<sup>44</sup> 'Innocent' and 'fresh' are powerful adjectives, but in all likelihood it seems their association with a specific artist demographic is false. In the words of Otto Rank: 'One of the radical mistakes made by most ordinary biographies and by psychography is the notion of a parallelism between experience and creation'.<sup>45</sup>

### Early Style as Contingent

Although not a question of style exactly, a distinct school of response treats work by young artists as though contingent. A striking quantity of criticism suggests young artists' work does not yet count, or indicates work to come. A review of the 1964 *Young Contemporaries* concluded: 'If there is an atmosphere of cool flippancy and pattern-making it is surely not because the artists are heartless. Nor is it that they do not feel seriously. They just don't have a style to feel seriously with. There is, as a result, a sense of limbering up'.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the foreword to the exhibition *Midland Artists of Promise* suggested: 'The intention of the exhibition is to give some *indication* of the type of work that these young artists *will* produce as *independent* painters and sculptors' (emphasis added).<sup>47</sup> This distance from the work is reminiscent of Edward Saïd's observations on late style—a 'form of exile' which involves 'surviving beyond what is acceptable and normal; in addition, lateness includes the idea that one cannot really go beyond lateness at all'.<sup>48</sup> These responses indicate something of a mirror image in the notion of an early style, which takes on associations of otherness, prompting work to be considered not for what it is but for what it might precede.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Anne Barriault 'Piero's Parnassus of Modern Painters', in *The Cambridge Companion to Piero della Francesca*, ed. by J.M. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 171–191 (p. 177). Guston was not making an age point: one of the works he referred to (the Flagellation) is a relatively late work.

<sup>45</sup> Otto Rank, *Art and Artist* (New York: Alfred A. Knopff, 1932), p. 379.

<sup>46</sup> Keith Roberts, Review of Young Contemporaries, *Burlington Magazine*, vol.106 no.732 (March 1964) (p. 138).

<sup>47</sup> Anonymous, 'Foreword', *Midland Artists of Promise*, exh. cat. (Nottingham: Midland Group, 1963).

<sup>48</sup> Michael Wood, 'Introduction', in Edward Saïd, *On Late Style* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 14.

<sup>49</sup> See also Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1953), p. 67 where he offers two narrative accounts of heroic youth in biography, as either offering a prehistory of the life or a premonition of future character.

### (3) The Market

#### Youth as an Obsolescence

Rapid obsolescence based on arbitrary style changes is necessary in order to maintain high levels of consumer expenditures.<sup>50</sup>

John B. Stewart, 1959

The more quickly new things are introduced, the faster the formerly new becomes old. Consequently, the old comes to outweigh the new at an accelerating rate, producing great heaps of cultural rubbish.<sup>51</sup>

Sarah Doris, 2007

Rosalind Krauss placed avant-garde discourse at the centre of intersecting interests, each of them invested in the notion of originality:

modernism and the avant-garde are functions of what we could call the discourse of originality, and [...] the discourse serves much wider interests—and is thus fueled by more diverse institutions—than the restricted circle of professional art-making. The theme of originality, encompassing as it does the notions of authenticity, originals and origins, is the shared discursive practice of the museum, the historian, and the maker of art.<sup>52</sup>

Just as the first section argued that the emerging artist notion catered for avant-gardist desires, so it will be argued here that emerging artists—by offering both continually fresh material and obsolescence—serve Krauss’s interests of ‘originality’.<sup>53</sup>

The connection between youth and obsolescence is widely made. In writing on youth, the sociologist Gill Jones sketched a brief history of this association and its implications for the marketplace: ‘the consumer ideology has taken over the individual and everything is simulacra, or simulation. Transitoriness has become dominant in current youth styles [...]

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<sup>50</sup> John B Stewart, ‘Problems in Review: Planned Obsolescence’, *Harvard Business Review* (September–October 1959), 14–28 and 168–174.

<sup>51</sup> Sarah Doris, *Pop Art and the Contest over American Culture*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 58.

<sup>52</sup> Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and other Modernist Myths* (Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1985), p. 157.

<sup>53</sup> To the extent that all age groups age, obsolescence could arguably apply to any age segment, not just the young. However, youth can be categorized more narrowly—because age groups asynchronize with time—and perhaps suggests transience and mutability more than other ages.

we are in love with this transitoriness and seduced by the superficiality'.<sup>54</sup> Bourdieu alluded to similar correspondence between age and product in his distinction between

the 'new' product, temporarily without 'economic' value, the 'old' product, irretrievably devalued, and the 'ancient' or 'classic' product, which has a constant or constantly growing 'economic' value. One also finds similar differences among the producers, between the avant-garde, recruited mainly among the (biologically) young, without being limited to a generation, 'finished' or 'outdated' authors or artists (who may be biologically young) and the consecrated avant-garde, the 'classics'.<sup>55</sup>

A generational conception of artists is therefore well-disposed to, as Jan Verwoert expressed it, 'the market logic of promoting new generations like new product ranges'.<sup>56</sup> Beneath this close correspondence is the marriage between avant-garde and the mantras of capital identified by the art historian Donald Kuspit.<sup>57</sup> The destinations may be different; the art-historical canon and its museums are quite distinct from the scrapheap to which obsolete consumer goods migrate. But Kuspit identifies a similar note of mortality in each case:

The avant-garde wish and struggle to stay young—which means not to change—involves the fear of growing old and becoming traditional. It is an anxious response to the trauma of time, more subtly, the trauma of becoming obsolete, which often takes the insidious form of becoming merely of 'historical interest', another period art rather than the ultimate truth of art.<sup>58</sup>

Beyond obsolescence, young artists also offer advantages of cheapness. Wyndham Lewis's melodramatically titled book *Doom of Youth* saw this industrial appeal: 'As a humble cog in the machinery of Big Business your only value is that you are fresh—and of course, as a consequence, cheap [...] the major asset is a fresh bodily machine—for machine-minding and mechanical tasks involving no responsibility there can, logically, be no other value'.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Gill Jones, *Youth* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), p. 170.

<sup>55</sup> Pierre Bourdieu 'The Production of Belief', reprinted in *Younger than Jesus: The Generation Book*, ed. by Cornell, Gioni, Hoptman and Sholis (New York: New Museum, 2009), pp. 205–214 (p. 206).

<sup>56</sup> Jan Verwoert, 'School's Out!-?', in *Notes for an Art School*, ed. by Mai Abu ElDahab, Anton Vidokle and Florian Waldvogel (Amsterdam and Nicosia: International Foundation Manifesta, 2006), pp. 56–63 (p. 57).

<sup>57</sup> Kuspit wrote: 'avant-gardism has been called "creative destruction", which happens to be [Joseph] Schumpeter's definition of capitalism. This suggests, as Adorno ironically does, that the avant-garde's so-called permanent revolution—which means staying young forever, which is what the revolutionary face-lift attempts to accomplish—is the capitalist motto'. Donald Kuspit, 'The Trouble with Youth', *Artnet* magazine, <<http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/features/kuspit/kuspit8-17-07.asp>> [accessed 12 August 2012].

<sup>58</sup> Kuspit, 'The Trouble with Youth'.

<sup>59</sup> Wyndham Lewis, *Doom of Youth* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932) p. 15.

Lewis's grim prognosis translates directly into some of the enthusiasm for the *Young Contemporaries*, heralded in 1963 as a 'bargain basement' in which everybody hunted 'for any and every sign of "the new", the uninhibited, the experimental, the fresh voice'.<sup>60</sup>

### Pop Roots and American Youth

In the British iteration of Pop Art concepts of the avant-garde, consumption and youth neatly collide. British Pop developed simultaneously with the focus on youth described in chapters III to V, particularly if extended backwards to roots in Kitchen Sink and the Independent Group. It was populated by an iconography of youth and consumerism, drawing subjects from youth culture such as Peter Blake's funfairs and comic books. And it engaged deeply with the consumerism, both directly (for example in Richard Smith's enthusiasm for shopping as a hobby)<sup>61</sup> and indirectly through the adoption of America as an emblem of consumerism and future-centricity, where history was recent or irrelevant, and everything was perceived to be young.<sup>62</sup>

This consumerist, American iconography had been promoted by the Independent Group. Lawrence Alloway proselytized the 'Expendable Aesthetic', and looked to mass-production as a barometer of the cultural health of society: 'Sensitiveness to the variables of our life and economy enable the mass arts to accompany the changes in our life far more closely than the fine arts which are a repository of time-binding values'.<sup>63</sup> The Independent Group was originally convened as the 'Young Group' in 1952,<sup>64</sup> before becoming the 'Young Independent Group'. Its overtly young associations, coupled with its embrace of mass-

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<sup>60</sup> David Thompson, 'Introduction', *Young Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (London: 1963).

<sup>61</sup> Marco Livingstone, *Pop Art: A Continuing History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), p. 38. Richard Smith championed shopping, per David Mellor, *The Sixties Art Scene in London*, exh. cat. (London: Phaidon, 1993), p. 126.

<sup>62</sup> Ironically, this perception of America as a place of non-tradition had its own tradition. See David Hamilton Murdoch, *The American West: the Invention of a Myth* (Cardiff: Ashley Drake, 2001), p. 13. Murdoch recalls at p. 13 Henry James, who spoke of America's 'perpetual repudiation of the past, so far as there is a past to repudiate' in 1908. See also Michael Kammen, *Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1978), p. 5 which quotes William Dean Howells: 'there is no past for us; there is only a future' (1897).

<sup>63</sup> Lawrence Alloway 'The Arts and the Mass Media', from *Architectural Design*, London (February 1958), 34–35 reprinted in *Art in Theory*, op. cit., pp. 700–703 (p. 701). Margaret Garlake identifies the formation of the group in a meeting convened by Dorothy Morland to discuss how to better integrate young artist members' voices into the I.C.A.'s management committee. See Margaret Garlake, 'The Relationship Between Institutional Patronage and Abstract Art in Britain c.1945–1956' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1987), p. 455.

<sup>64</sup> Anne Massey, 'The Independent Group: Towards a Redefinition', *The Burlington Magazine* vol.129 no.1009 (April 1987), 232–242 (p. 237).

market 'low' culture suggests that a relationship with obsolescence—through the Independent Group and Pop—already existed when young artists first began to be framed by generation.

### Future Value

Beyond the appealing fungibility of youth, a young demographic resonates with the idea of future value. As a tutor of the R.C.A. wrote in the late 1950s, 'the art student is of the greatest interest; for in him we can see the beginnings of the future, we can catch the whiff of the day-after-tomorrow'.<sup>65</sup> This association with the future makes a young generation a fitting vehicle for economic speculation, a function of art which received a great deal of emphasis in this period. Chapter IV discussed the art market boom of the late 1950s. A flurry of economically-oriented statistical analyses ensued: foremost among them were Spencer Samuels's *Currency of Art* newsletter (from 1959); Gerald Reitlinger's *The Economics of Taste* volumes (1961); and Willi Bongard's *Kunstkompass* system (from 1970). Reitlinger modeled price fluctuations in established art markets over time, focusing on art's value and treating artworks as stocks or shares. Bongard's was a ranking of artists according to diverse indicators of fame and critical credibility.

This conversation demonstrates a heightened awareness of art-as-commodity. In this context a young generation offered not only obsolescence but a larger time span for investments' fruition, and therefore a longer and so safer bet. This approach has recently redoubled in interest in Brazil, Russia, India and China ('B.R.I.C.'), where emerging artists from emerging markets and tiger economies have offered an amplified sense of potential future economic value. The art historian Johanna Burton suggested that this approach permeates art generally: 'the "dealer-critic" system emphasized futurity [...]. The critic is [...] here unmoored from concerns of carrying on with the business of history and, rather, "speculates," on future, as yet unrealized, values, belief systems, and conventions'.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Richard Guyatt, 'Art and Indolence: a Guide to the Art Student of Today', *Motif 1* (November 1958), 53–55 (p. 53). Guyatt later became Rector of the R.C.A.

<sup>66</sup> Jonanna Burton, 'More than This', in *Canvases and Careers Today: Criticism and its Markets*, ed. by Daniel Birnbaum and Isabelle Graw (Berlin & New York: Sternberg, 2008), pp. 49–59 (p. 51).

### Conclusion: Youth, Erasure and Beginnings

This chapter has argued that key elements of artistic discourse have been especially receptive to emphasis on youth, often because of slippages in terminology, a confusion of nature with culture, or assumptions which are sometimes demonstrably inaccurate. Critically, to the extent that youth overlaps with avant-garde ideology, the emerging artist can be considered an understudy for the avant-garde artist: both satisfy impulses for originality, artistic positivism and progress. In many respects these qualities make the emerging artist a paradigmatic artist. Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz examined tropes concerning the identity of the artist, and linked artist-clichés with hero narratives from mythology:

We can begin with the observation that in the motifs of mythology the relation of the hero to his parental home, the origin of the hero, is depicted in a very special way. This theme is dominated by the tendency to deny the real father of the man who is elevated to a hero, and to substitute a more exalted, royal parent; indeed, as far as possible, all mortal taint is removed from the hero's origin. This store of themes, which is found in a wide range of myths, is known to students of comparative mythology as the sagas of royal children who as infants were abandoned in the wilderness and later became the founders of new empires.<sup>67</sup>

This chapter has offered critical reasons for the emphasis on youth and emergence, but across them remains an echo of the Kris and Kurz hypothesis: the purchase on the imagination of a certain narrative form relating to origins. This narrative punctuates the emerging artist concept, and loads it once again with ideas of erasing the past and founding new empires. The painter Alan Davie expressed the view that 'the artist must be a prophet; that is, one who utters that which is meaningful in a timeless sense, not out of reason or knowledge of the past, but out of the eternal NOW which is everlastingly fresh and wonderful'.<sup>68</sup> His notion remains popular. It assumes greater authenticity of the protean creator, and ascribes to the present a purity which the past can only corrupt. The artist must be born, not educated, and should conflict with an unsympathetic society, and it is in the figure of the emerging artist that these requirements are most clearly met.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz trans. by Alastair Laing and Lottie Newman, *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 35.

<sup>68</sup> Alan Davie, 'Towards a New Definition of Art: Some Notes on (NOW) Painting' reprinted in Douglas Hall / Michael Tucker, *Alan Davie* (London: Lund Humphries, 1992), p. 52.

<sup>69</sup> As Howard Singerman put it, 'The idea of the "artist born" runs long and deep, from Pliny's Lysippus, who had no teacher, to Dürer's Geertgen tot Sint Jans, who was "a painter in his mother's womb"'. Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 8.

Like the inseparability of dominance and emergence discussed above, the notion of originality arguably draws strength from the institutionalization of an artistic career described across the previous chapters. In his history of the picaresque hero in European fiction, Richard Bjornson linked the development of its narrative form with the rise of bourgeois individualism: it took a certain phase of social development for the ideas of home, privacy and family which inform these tales to exist.<sup>70</sup> Connotations of the emerging artist's originality (implied in the very term 'emerging') likewise perhaps derive from the structured phases of his or her development. The paradigmatic oppositional hero was, for Marx, Robinson Crusoe.<sup>71</sup> Against the increasingly professionalized landscape of education, exhibition and collection described by this dissertation, the emerging artist perhaps borrows his qualities.

And lastly, within the narrative arc of an artistic life, young and emerging artists are beginnings. Edward Saïd has written that the 'beginning immediately establishes relationships with works already existing, relationships of either continuity or antagonism or a mixture of both',<sup>72</sup> a statement reminiscent of Raymond Williams's discussion of dominant and emergent cultures with which the dissertation began. Saïd's reflections on beginnings situated the notion alongside Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* and *Genealogy of Morals*, and alongside the idea of depth as expressed by Freud and Marx:

What is interesting here is a transformation that takes place in the conception of beginnings [...] Satisfying the appetite for beginnings now requires, not beginning as event, but beginning as either type or force—for example the unconscious, Dionysus, class and capital, or natural selection.<sup>73</sup>

The 'emerging artist' is perhaps one such beginning-as-type or force.

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<sup>70</sup> Richard Bjornson, *The Picaresque Hero in European Fiction* (Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), p. 4

<sup>71</sup> See Griselda Pollock, 'Art, Art School, Culture: Individualism after the Death of the Artist', *The Black Reader in Visual Culture*, ed. by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis and others (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 50–67 (p. 57). Marx's discussion of this is in the *Grundrisse*.

<sup>72</sup> Edward Saïd, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> Saïd, *Beginnings*, p. 51.



## CONCLUSION

This dissertation has described a combination of changes to art institutions which focused attention on young artists and so contributed to the development of the ‘emerging artist’ concept. Art schools professionalized their students through the pursuit of purpose, commercial and public galleries framed artists by generation and promoted young artists’ work, and public collections adopted the practice of collecting artists at an early career phase. Collectively, these institutional changes helped to alter the perception of young artists and art students. From being students or recent graduates who might become artists, they were increasingly considered artists already. As Andrew Brighton expressed it: ‘When I went to art school the assumption was that if you did fine art you wanted to be an artist. The big shift—when I went to teach at Goldsmiths—was the assumption that you *were* an artist’.<sup>1</sup>

The beneficiaries of these changes amounted to a demographic of young British artists long before their appearance in *Freeze* in 1988, and the phenomenon originated as much through these transformations in public patronage as through the ascendance of the art market. The institutional agents of this development correspond to the elements of an artist’s c.v.—‘educated’, ‘exhibited’ and ‘collections’. The role of such terms in defining the artist perhaps again connects art to the wider economy. Nineteenth-century art schools were creatures of the Industrial Revolution. So, too, this professionalization—mapped through the institutions which populate an artist’s c.v.—manifests the transition towards a service economy across Britain in the late twentieth century. For artist and professional alike, institutions serve as important sites of accountability, establishing the field, signaling value and populating a career with recognizable credentials.<sup>2</sup> The nineteenth-century artist had been defined against the manual and mercantile craftsman. Partly through the changes described in this dissertation, the status of an artist came likewise to be established in the mould of other service industry professionals. The distinction, perhaps, is that in this context the artist’s name becomes something of a commodified object.

The contextualizing effect of a c.v. and its implication of a structured artistic career sits uneasily with a perception of artists and their work as transcendental and autonomous. Perhaps as a consequence, in the reception of young and emerging artists the discourse has not matched this history. The dissonance was visible across chapters III and IV, which

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Brighton interviewed by the author (22 September 2010). Brighton began studying at the beginning of the 1960s, and started teaching in the early 1970s.

<sup>2</sup> For a reading of the cv’s ascent in the university, see Nod Miller and David Morgan, ‘Called to Account: The CV as an Autobiographical Practice’, *Sociology*, vol.27 no.1 (February 1993), pp. 133-143 (p. 134).

described on the one side the discouragement of young artists' professional behaviour and on the other the encouragement of it. Together with chapters I and VI these chapters illustrated how young and emerging artists became magnets for notions of freedom and intuition, each loaded with a hint of biological determinism, and how through them a sublimated belief in artistic progress could be expressed.

Notwithstanding these tensions, the notion of the 'emerging artist' has an obvious flaw: attention extended to emerging artists emphasizes career ascent over decline and therefore paints an incomplete picture. In the long view, because very few artists enjoy long-term success (let alone posthumous reputation), emerging artists more often than not become receding artists. This problem—the lull beyond the rising star narrative—quickly concerned many of the protagonists who had championed young and emerging artists. As seen in chapters IV and V, both Bryan Robertson and Lilian Somerville turned their attention to this problem. The promotion, further downstream, of mid-career artists 'becalmed in the doldrums of uncertainty or engaged in the laborious process of reorientation' might prove a rich topic of research.<sup>3</sup>

The responses of Robertson and Somerville indicate that their efforts to encourage young and emerging artists perhaps proved too effective. Adoption was so widespread and popular as to be almost viral. Consideration of the causal nexus behind the 'emerging artist'—its perfect synthesis of practical needs and theoretical desires—helps to explain why, and also why the term continues to be so widely used today.

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<sup>3</sup> Bryan Robertson, quoted by Maurice de Sausmarez, 'Bryan Robertson's Achievement at the Whitechapel', *Studio International*, vol.177 no.908 (February 1969), p. 58.

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## APPENDIX 1: STUDENT STATISTICS

### (a) All Subjects#

Year	Full Time Undergraduate or 1st Diploma# #	Student Numbers /1st Degree England	Student Numbers /1st Diploma England
1953-54	55459		
1954-55	56363		
1955-56	58744		
1956-57	61980		
1957-58	65877		
1958-59	64225		
1959-60	65703		
1960-61	66938		
1961-62	69334		
1962-63	72405		
1963-64	76263		
1964-65	81942		
1965-66	104549		
1966-67	114541		
1967-68	124206		
1968-69	130724	129352	1372
1969-70	135624	134492	1132
1970-71	139671	138752	919
1971-72	142145	141743	402
1972-73	144687	144256	431
1973-74	148323	147880	443
1974-75	152266	151794	472
1975-76	159814	159343	471
1976-77	167915	167470	445
1977-78	176576	176261	315
1978-79	182019	181695	324
1979-80	187466	187072	394
1980-81	194314	191706	282
1981-82	196454	193918	283
1982-83			
1983-84			
1984-85	186197	183209	293
1985-86	186683	183188	279
1986-87			
1987-88			
1988-89	200604	196267	277
1989-90	211862	206295	277
1990-91			
1991-92			
1992-93	258502	249713	250
1993-94	279137	269479	231

# source: Department of Education and Science: Statistics of Education Part IV/ Higher Education

# # figures earlier than 1958-9 are for England and Wales. These are approx 5000 students larger than England numbers

## (b) Art &amp; Design \*

Year	NDD passes	DipAD passes	F.A. Dip AD Passes	1st Degrees in Art and Design Awarded in the UK <sup>^</sup>	1st Diplomas in Art and Design awarded in the UK <sup>^</sup>	Higher Art and Design degrees awarded	PhDs/DPhil s in Art and Design awarded UK	Full Time Undergradu ate Degree Students in the UK <sup>^^</sup>	Total Full Time F.A. undergraduate s <sup>^^^</sup>
1953-54	1151								
1954-55	1030								
1955-56	968								
1956-57	1041								
1957-58	1085								
1958-59	1094								
1959-60	1347								
1960-61	1286								
1961-62	1412								
1962-63	1361			45 (F.A.)					
1963-64	1941			45 (F.A.)					
1964-65	2140			45 (F.A.)					
1965-66	580	946	499					572 GB	
1966-67	34	1482	697	91	51			both 621	
1967-68	0	1664	708	114	24			both 747	
1968-69	0	1835	807	145	18		12	795	
1969-70		1900	851	175	20		10	880	
1970-71		2026	885	191	25			both 977	
1971-72		2085	875					984	
1972-73		2144	924						
1973-74		2211	982						
1974-75								1071	
1975-76								1349	
1976-77								1443	
1977-78				347	39		12	1511	
1978-79				482	42		19	1674	
1979-80								1698	
1980-81				464		103		1786	
1981-82				537		81		1826	
1982-83									
1983-84								1737	
1984-85				543		96		1712	
1985-86				147 (F.A.)		4 (F.A.)			502
1986-87									498
1987-88									501
1988-89				125 (F.A.)	1 (F.A.)	14 (F.A.)			651
1989-90				172 (F.A.)	8 (F.A.)	47 (F.A.)	4 F.A. (new)	4451	687
1990-91								4204	700
1991-92								4574	873
1992-93				162 (F.A.)	9 (F.A.)	24 (F.A.)	2	5092	888
1993-94				197 (F.A.)	11 (F.A.)	23 (F.A.)	1	5631	947

\*source: Department of Education and Science: Statistics of Education Part III / Further Education

<sup>^</sup>UK numbers become Great Britain numbers during the 1980s

<sup>^^</sup>Great Britain post 1974 ('Art & Design' until 1989-90 when the category becomes 'Creative Arts')

<sup>^^^</sup>'Fine Art' (F.A.) segment defined only from 1985-86 onwards



1991-92								36	26	2
1992-93								38	27	7
1993-94								35	21	7
1994-95								33	32	17

source: UCL college calendars for student numbers (with thanks to Robert Winckworth of the UCL Records Office). Diploma and Degree numbers obtained from UCL Student Data Services (with thanks to Camelia Njemanze)

(d) Overview Full Time v. Part Time ~

Column1	1959	1968	growth
students in art colleges	129	112	-13%
evening classes	76	48	-37%
Part Time day	38	21	-43%
Full Time day	15	27	80%
NDD/DipAD	4.2	6.7	60%
ATC/ATD	0.34	0.49	44%

~data from Studio International (May 1971), vol.181 no.933 David Warren Piper 'Art and Design Education' p.197



APPENDIX 2. Table of Significant Exhibitions of Work by Young Artists<sup>1</sup>

Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1904	Amateurs and Arts Students	Whitechapel	8–18 July
1910	Students Attending London Technical, Art and Evening Schools	Whitechapel	9–22 February
1927	Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	4000 pictures submitted, 625 works shown. Jury: Rothenstein, Philpot, Lawrence, Manson, Wilenski
	Students' Work		February–March. Students from Slade, R.A., Central, R.C.A., Westminster
1931	Association of Students' Sketch Clubs	Whitechapel	Westminster, Slade, R.A., R.C.A., Central School, 10 February–12 March
1932	Artists of Fame and Promise	Whitechapel	2–22 December. Again in 1933, 1934 (twice), 1936 and 1937
1934	Ten Young Artists	Leicester Galleries	<i>Approx. 150 works: July–Sept. First one. Mixed established and unknown. Series ran throughout the 1940s and 1950s</i>
1937	Young British Painters	64 Charlotte Street	December, 10 young artists, 90 works. As recorded in <i>The Times</i> 13 December.
1938	Artists Who Died Young	Thos Agnew & Son	<i>January. Included Bacon, Sutherland, Pasmore</i>
1939	New Paintings by Young English Painters	Leicester Galleries	<i>88 works. Max. age 40, many in their twenties</i>
1940	Nine Young Artists	Storran Gallery, London	<i>5–29 July</i>
1945	Student-Group Exhibition of Paintings	Peter Jones department store	<i>35 oil paintings by 9 artists</i>
1946	Four Young British Painters	A.I.A.	16 October–3 November. 53 exhibits. At Foyles Gallery on Charring Cross rd.
1947	Paolozzi	Doncaster Museums and tour	Arts Council (Michael Ayton, John Minton, William Scott, Keith Vaughan). Tour inc. Salisbury School of Art and Henley Museum
1948	The Under Thirties Exhibition	Mayor Gallery	<i>b.1924 solo</i>
	Arts Students Exhibition	Redfern	<i>b.1920 solo</i>
1949	John Latham	A.I.A.	Juried by artists, 14 exhibitors. Opened 24 January
	Young Painters Working in Britain	Arts Council	97 works by 75 artists from a spread of art schools in England and Wales
	Young Contemporaries: Paintings, Drawings, Etchings, Engravings, Lithographs, Sculpture by Art Students of Greater London	Kingly Gallery	<i>b.1921 A show he shared with John Berger, while still a student at Chelsea</i>
	Suzanne Humberi, Peter Sager and Five Young Contemporaries	A.I.A.	10 June–1 July
1950	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	Juried by artists, 35 exhibitors. Filler: exhibition fell through and Carel Weight, on the F.B.A. council, suggested this. Ivor Fox, R.C.A. student, organized it. Knapping Prize for best work. 25 March–9 April. 42 works by 40 artists. All London schools.
	Students' Designs for an I.C.A.	Gimpel Films	Selected by artists. 19 January–18 February
1951	Richard Hamilton	Architectural Association	<i>July. The first year, annual till 1959. Aged under 30 and could not have exhibited more than 3 works simultaneously in a London West End Gallery</i>
	Young Sculptors / Young Painters	Gimpel Films	13–19 April
	Six Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	16 January–3 February 1951. 37 art schools participating
1952	Looking Forward: an Exhibition of Realist pictures by contemporary British Artists	Gimpel Films	<i>September. Under 30s only. Selectors: a dealer, and artist, a collector and a critic (subsequently the same)</i>
	Young Contemporaries: An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings	Whitechapel	First solo show. <i>b.1928</i>
		F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	Two shows. Sculptors 3 January–3 February, Painters 23 October–22 November (Michael Andrews, Barbara Braithwaite, Harold Cohen, Alfred Daniels, Richard Hamilton, Edward Middleditch, Alan Reynolds, Victor Willing) Second annual show but the first at the I.C.A. Selected by John Berger, Toni del Renzio, Roland Penrose, David Sylvester, Peter Watson. Foreword 'while the ages of the chosen eight range from twenty-three to thirty, and average exactly twenty-six, the age limit for candidates was forty'
			John Berger curator. 15 well known; 25 young and unknown. 23 September–2 November
			Static show titled 'The Fourth Annual Exhibition of Young Contemporaries', 14–30 January 1952. Arts council tour. Foreword by Philip James. The first Young Contemporaries open to all art students in Great Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Certain exhibitions outside London, as well as important one-man exhibitions, have been included for context. Shows in commercial galleries are italicized. This list was compiled from keyword searches of exhibition databases and catalogues at the Tate and the National Art Library, and from exhibition lists of institutions such as the Camden Arts Centre, The Whitechapel Gallery, and the I.C.A. Unless otherwise stated, *Young Contemporaries* dates, where given, refer to their London exhibitions, not the subsequent Arts Council tours.

Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1952	<i>Hugh MacKinnon and Six Young Contemporaries</i>	<i>Gimpel Fils</i>	<i>August. Colman, Prentis &amp; Varley purchase prize £50. Selectors as above</i>
	<i>Alan Reynolds</i>	<i>Redfern</i>	<i>First Solo show. March 1952 (Shows again 1954 in London &amp; NY with Durlacher Bros.)</i>
	Young Painters of the Ecole de Paris	Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh	Toured to Glasgow. Arts Council sponsored
	Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture by Royal Academy Students Society	R.A.	16 January–19 February
	<i>Jack Smith</i>	<i>Beaux Arts Gallery</i>	<i>First solo show, while still at R.C.A. b.1928</i>
1953	Eight Young contemporary British Painters	Arts Council Gallery, Edinburgh	(Michael Ayrton, R. Henderson Blyth, William Crosbie, Joan Eardley, John Minton, Robin Philipson, Julian Trevelyan, Keith Vaughan)
	<i>Norman Adams</i>	<i>Gimpel Fils</i>	<i>First solo show. b.1927. Solo show the following year at Roland Browse and Delbanco</i>
	Young Contemporaries: An Exhibition of Painting	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	24 February–10 March. 65 participating schools. Static show titled 'The Fifth Annual Exhibition of Young Contemporaries'
	<i>Ten Young Artists</i>	<i>Beaux Arts, London</i>	February
	<i>Donald Hamilton-Fraser and Six Young Contemporaries</i>	<i>Gimpel Fils</i>	August 1953
1954	<i>Six Young Painters</i>	<i>Thomas Agnew &amp; Son</i>	October–November 1953
	<i>Peter King</i>	<i>Gallery One</i>	<i>Victor Musgrave's gallery. King b.1928</i>
	<i>Donald Hamilton Fraser</i>	<i>Gimpel Fils</i>	<i>First solo show. October–November (b.1929)</i>
	Sunday Painters	I.C.A.	8 September–9 October. organized by Robert Melville
	<i>Some Rising Painters</i>	<i>Roland, Browse and Delbanco</i>	(Shows Fussell, Neve, Roberts, Whishaw, Middleditch)
1955	<i>Six Young Contemporaries and Hubert Dalwood</i>	<i>Gimpel Fils</i>	<i>August. Colman, Prentis &amp; Varley purchase prize £50. Selectors as above</i>
	<i>Artists Under Forty</i>	<i>Zwemmer Gallery</i>	<i>August–September 1954 (21 artists)</i>
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	Selected by 12 artists. 23 January–6 February 1954
	<i>Nine Young Artists</i>	<i>Parsons Gallery</i>	Brisel, Nuttall, Symons, Middleton, Michie, Whishaw, Thorpe, Irvin, Delavigne
	Michael Ayrton	Whitechapel	first young British solo show there
	New Sculptors and Painters	I.C.A.	12 August–3 September.
	Eight Painters	I.C.A.	13 October–5 November. See Five Painters of 1958 (Michael Andrews, Janet Barrett, Kit Barker, Barry Daniels, Duncan, Eric Finlay, W.G. Poole, Peter Snow)
	Daily Express Young Artists' Exhibition	New Burlington Galleries	20 April–21 May. 251 works between aged 18 and 35 selected by Graham Sutherland, Herbert Read, Anthony Blunt, Le Roux Smith le Roux. Previous one 1927. Prize winners: Lucian Freud and Edward Middleditch
	<i>Eight Young Contemporaries</i>	<i>Gimpel Fils</i>	<i>August–September. Colman, Prentis &amp; Varley purchase prize £50</i>
	<i>Paintings by Nine Young Artists</i>	<i>Parsons Gallery, London</i>	January
	<i>Young Midland Artists</i>	<i>Zwemmer Gallery</i>	9 August–10 September (18 artists)
	Young Painters	Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome	April–May
	Federation of London Men's Institutes Art Exhibition: Work by Students Attending Art Classes in L.C.C. Men's Evening Institutes	Guildhall Art Gallery	4–23 April
	Young Contemporaries: An Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Prints	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	Static show titled 'The Seventh Annual Exhibition: Young Contemporaries' and ran 18 January–5 February
	Young British Sculptors	Germany, Netherlands, Sweden	British Council Touring Exhibition 1955–56. Sculptors not notably young



Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1956	Some Young Painters	South London Gallery	8 artists aged 20-39. 5-25 January 1956
	Looking Forward	South London Gallery	about 30 artists. 86 works selected by John Berger. 18 April-5 May
	Quattro Giovani Pittori Inglesi <i>Gillian Ayres</i>	Venice Biennale <i>Gallery One</i>	(Bratby b.1928, Greaves b.1927, Middleditch b.1923, Smith b.1928) <i>Victor Musgrave, a poet, ran the gallery and gave her first solo show. b.1930</i>
	Pictures by Post-War Students of the Byam Shaw School	Leighton House Museum	February-March 1956
	<i>Eight Young Contemporaries</i>	<i>Gimpel Films</i>	
	Six Young Painters	Cheltenham Art Gallery	Arts Council Tour. Michael Andrews, John Bratby, Harold Cohen, Martin Froy, Derrick Greaves, Philip Sutton. May-Oct 1956
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	34 art schools contributed: 12 artist-teachers from London art schools selected
	Six Young Painters	Arts Council	May-October Arts Council tour. Anthony Fry, Donald Hamilton Fraser, Jack Smith, Michael Wishart, Edward Middleditch, Peter Kinley
	Young America: Thirty American Painters and Sculptors Under Thirty-Five [Young Artists of Promise]	Whitney Museum, NYC	February-April 1957
	<i>Six Young Artists</i>	Book	Published by The Studio, 1957. Chosen and introduced by Jack Beddington: "sales promotion", which, after all, is the chief object of this book". p.8
1957	<i>Six Young Artists</i>	<i>Roland, Brouse &amp; Delbanco</i>	January. 35 works by 6 artists b.1915-30 i.e. aged 27-42 (Norman Adams, Bernard Kay, Arthur Ballard, Philip Sutton, Ralph Brown, Anthony, Whishaw)
	<i>Works by Six Young Contemporary Artists</i>	<i>Gimpel Films</i>	August-September (Coote, Denny, Elliott, Evans, Plummer, Smith)
	Painting and Sculpture by Past and Present Students of the L.C.C. Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts	South London Art Gallery	February 1957
	Ten Young British Artists	British Council	
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	Diez Jovenes Escultores Britanicos
	Five Painters	I.C.A.	19 February-10 March
	<i>Bernard Cohen</i>	<i>Gimpel Films</i>	inc. William Green b.1934, Peter Blake b.1932, Richard Smith. Jan-Feb. Philip Hendy foreword: "I welcome this exhibition of the young unknown". Sixth of its kind. 8 January-8 February
	Anthony Hill: Recent Constructions	I.C.A.	<i>first Solo show b.1933</i>
	<i>Reputations in the Making: Paintings by Six Young British Artists</i>	<i>Roland, Brouse &amp; Delbanco</i>	January. b.1915-32, i.e. aged from 26-43
	<i>Robin Denny</i>	<i>Gallery One</i>	b.1930
1959	<i>Ian Stephenson</i>	<i>New Vision Centre</i>	b.1934
	Northern Young Artists	Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield	October-November. Also 1953 and 1955
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	545 exhibits from 38 art schools
	Premiere Biennale de Paris	Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris	2-25 October. 35 year old age limit. 7 young artists representing Britain picked by Herbert Read, Philip Hendy and Roland Penrose
	Young Welsh Artists	National Museum of Wales	Arts Council
	Young Sculptors	A.I.A.	
	Six Young Painters	Arts Council	6-26 May (Trevor Bell, Sandra Blow, Sheila Fell, Michael Fussell, Henry Inlander, Frank Aray Wilson)
	<i>The Middle Generation</i>	<i>Waddings</i>	May. <i>Show of Hilton, Wynter, Frost and Heron. Aged 30-45</i>
	<i>Nine Young Contemporaries</i>	<i>Gimpel Films</i>	25 August-12 September selected by panel as above (Dear, Morrell, Rugg, Sigrist, Stephenson, Young, Polaine, Sanderson, Seeger)
	<i>Tomorrow's Artists</i>	<i>Grabowski Gallery</i>	
1960	Young Contemporaries: Paintings, Sculpture, Stained Glass	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	20 February-14 March. Arts Council tour May-September at Cambridge, Blackburn, Welspool, Maidstone
	<i>The Cambridge Group</i>	<i>New Vision Centre</i>	February. <i>A show of Cambridge students' work</i>
	<i>Young Commonwealth Artists</i>	<i>Woodstock Gallery</i>	29 February-19 March
	Young Contemporaries		Peter Phillips president and Allen Jones secretary of the organizing committee. On Lawrence Alloway's (a juror) advice the R.C.A. students refusing to exhibit their work together

Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1961	Artists of Promise	Midland Group, Nottingham	R.C.A. and Slade students only
	Young Glasgow Group	A.I.A.	13 February–7 March
	Exhibition of Work by Art Students of London	John Lewis and Co.	7–21 June
	26 Young Sculptors	I.C.A.	26 exhibitors 31 August–7 October
	Drawing Towards Painting: 6 Young Painters	Cheltenham Art Gallery	13–27 October 1962. Peter Blake, William Crozier, John Hoyland, Sonia Lawson, Dorothy Mead, Euan Uglow.
1962	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	49 of the 243 exhibited toured the country with the Arts Council beginning in Cambridge 14 July–14 August, then Hull, Swansea, Birmingham, Newcastle in November
	Artists of Promise	Midland Group, Nottingham	R.C.A., Slade, Bath Academy, Leeds and Liverpool students' work
	Towards Art?	R.C.A.	An exhibition showing the contribution which the College has made to the Fine Arts 1952–1962. 7 November–1 December 1962
	Young Artists Exhibition	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	9–24 August
	Four Young Artists	I.C.A.	Selected from Young Contemporaries. Sponsored by London Press Exchange. first at I.C.A. (Dover St), taking over from Gimpel Fils. July 1962 (Maurice Agis, John Bowstead, David Hockney, Peter Phillips)
	Two Young Figurative Artists	I.C.A.	15 February–24 March (Howard Hodgkin, Allen Jones)
	Bridget Riley	Gallery One	First solo show (b.1931)
	Ivor Abrahams	Gallery One	First solo show (b.1935)
	Anthony Green	Rowan Gallery	b.1939
	Five Young British Artists	Rowan Gallery	July 1962 (inc Anthony Donaldson, Terry Jones, John Rich, Jeffrey Harris, Brian Young)
	Three Young Artists from England	Art Centre Saskatoon	16–28 March 1962
	Six Young Painters	Cheltenham Art Gallery	13–27 October 1962 (Peter Blake, William Crozier, John Hoyland, Sonia Lawson, Dorothy Mead, Euan Uglow)
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	6–23 February. Cover image of Brigit Bardot. Arts Council tour 27 July–17 Aug beginning in Cambridge
	Allen Jones	Arthur Tooth & Sons	b.1937 12 February–2 March
	[Several One-Man Exhibitions]	Kasmin	Hockney, Bernard Cohen (b.1933), Richard Smith (b.1931)
	Midland Artists of Promise	Midland Group Gallery, Nottingham	17 midland Arts colleges' students' work. 20 July–3 August
	Young Contemporaries	Midland Group Gallery, Nottingham	20 September–12 October
1963	Four Young Artists	I.C.A.	London Press Exchange 18 September–19 October. (Haworth, Howlin, Mills, Pearson)
	Antony Donaldson	Rowan Gallery	b.1939 2–29 May
	Paul Huxley	Rowan Gallery	First solo show (b.1938)
	Sculpture of Adams and Seven Young English Artists	Kunsthalle, Basel	
	The Image Makers: Nine Young Artists	Herbert Art Gallery, Coventry	20 July–18 August
	Young Commonwealth Artists	Whitechapel	Art School projects from Bath Academy, St Martin's, Leeds College of Art, and Kings College of Art Newcastle.
	5 Group Projects		
	Six Young Painters	I.C.A.	Crozier, Mead, Riley, Hockney, Blake, Uglow. Blackburn Art Gallery and tour. Arts Council
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	January–February. Then Arts Council tour beginning Southampton 12 September–3 October. London Press Exchange sponsorship. Stuyvesant Foundation sponsor from 1964–68
	Four Young Artists	I.C.A.	14 October–7 November. Selected from Young Contemporaries (Douglas Binder, David Hall, Gerald Laing, Roger Westwood)
	New Generation	Whitechapel	March–May 1964. Painting show. Sponsored by the Peter Stuyvesant Foundation, foreword by Bryan Robertson and David Thompson (Derek Boshier, Patrick Caulfield, Antony Donaldson, David Hockney, John Hoyland, Paul Huxley, Allen Jones, Peter Phillips, Patrick Procktor, Bridget Riley, Michael Vaughan, Brett Whiteley)
1964		John Whibley Gallery	Continue to find artists of talent for first one-man shows of promise in their little George Street gallery. (Studio International May 1964 vol. 167 no.853)
	Northern Art Colleges	Arts Council	7–21 March. Revival of an exhibition of 1957, touring North Carolina Museum of Art and Laing Museum, Newcastle
	Young Artists Exhibition	South London Art Gallery	4–26 June
	Northern Young Contemporaries	Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester	First Northern Young Contemporaries. Stuyvesant Foundation. Opened by Jennie Lee Nov–Dec. 3x £100 prizes: 5x £50
	Mark Lancaster	Rowan Gallery	Instigated by Norman Adams, teacher at Manchester. Showed throughout 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. 12 November–11 December.
	Scottish Artists Under Thirty	Glasgow School of Art	July b.1938 5 November–2 December
			20 September–2 October 1965
1965			



Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1965	Fourteen Young Artists	Kunstermes Hus, Oslo	9–19 December
	<i>Paintings by Sixteen Young Japanese Artists</i>	<i>Yvon Lambert</i>	20 April–12 May
	Young America: Thirty Artists under Thirty-Five	Whitney Museum, NYC	
	<i>Derek Boshier</i>	<i>Robert Fraser</i>	November–December 1965 b.1937
	<i>Patrick Caulfield</i>	<i>Robert Fraser</i>	b.1936
	<i>David Thompson</i>	<i>Roland, Browse &amp; Delbanco</i>	<i>Two person sculpture show with Peter Startup. Thompson b. 1939 &amp; b. 1937 17 September–16 October</i>
	London: The New Scene	Walker Art Center Minneapolis, then touring	Organized with the Calouste-Gulbenkian Foundation
	Towards Art II: Sculptors from the R.C.A.	Arts Council Touring	
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. Galleries	19 January–6 February. Arts Council tour 21 August–11 September, beginning at Arts Council Gallery, Cambridge
	Paintings by Four Young Artists	I.C.A.	16 September–14 October (Burgin, Dade, Millband, Wise)
1966	New Generation	Whitechapel	London Press Exchange and Peter Stuyvesant Foundation. Sculpture Show (March–April). Sculpture (David Annesley, Michael Bolus, Phillip King, Roland Piché, Christopher Sanderson, Tim Scott, William Tucker, Isaac Witkin, Derrick Woodham). By 1966, six of the artists have had solo shows in New York.
	<i>Seven Young Artists</i>	<i>Grosvenor Gallery</i>	<i>13 July–7 August (Atamian, Biasi, Kadishman, Lies, Robins, Rutherford)</i>
	Art Education and the Individual: Work of the Students of Cardiff College of Art	Whitechapel	25 May–19 July
	Through Drawing	I.C.A.	May–June. Working diploma students' work to show teaching policy of Coventry College of Art's Fine Art dept. July 1966
	<i>Northern Artists of Promise</i>	<i>Midland Group, Nottingham</i>	
	Five Young Artists	I.C.A.	London Press Exchange. Selected from Young Contemporaries. A show called 'Young Figuratives' was planned but postponed. 3 November–3 December (Ann Clarke, Tom Edmunds, Barry Martin, Bruce McLean, John Whitaker)
	New Generation	Whitechapel	Stuyvesant Foundation. June/July. John Carter and other
	<i>Peter Behan</i>	<i>Roland, Browse &amp; Delbanco</i>	<i>March–April b. 1939</i>
	<i>Barry Flanagan</i>	<i>Rowan Gallery</i>	<i>b. 1941</i>
	<i>Four Young Scottish Painters</i>	<i>Piccadilly Gallery</i>	<i>1–19 February</i>
1967	Spacewalk: Work by Students at Lancaster College of Art	Arncliffe, Bristol	8 July–11 August
	Five Young British Artists	33 <sup>rd</sup> Venice Biennale	Bernard Cohen, Harold Cohen, Robyn Denny, Richard Smith, Anthony Caro.
	Summer Exhibition of Students' Work	Hatton Gallery, Newcastle	March
	Young Berlin Artists	Kunsthalle, Basle	7 May–12 June
	<i>London Indications: A Three-stage Exhibition of Young Artists Working in London</i>	<i>Indica Gallery</i>	<i>August–September 1966</i>
	<i>John Walker</i>	<i>Axiom Gallery</i>	<i>b. 1939</i>
	How they Started: Paintings by Some Former Students of the Royal College of Art	R.C.A.	December–March 1967
	Recent British Painting: the Stuyvesant Collection	Tate	97 paintings by 52 artists. 15 November–22 December
	Young Contemporaries	Tate	
	6 Young Artists	I.C.A.	Dealer on the selection panel: Leslie Waddington. 26 Jan–19 Feb. Touring exhibition 29 July–19 Aug
1968	<i>Young Artists in South Wales</i>	<i>Midland Group Gallery, Nottingham</i>	2 November–2 December London Press Exchange Last at Dover St; thereafter Carlton House Terrace. Aged 20–27 (Gerard Hensworth, Mak Kum Siew, Heather Lavis, Richard Loneraine, Janet Spiller, Graham Tazzyman)
	<i>Six Young Artists</i>	<i>A.I.A.</i>	1–22 April
	<i>Young Britain: The New Scene</i>	<i>Sears, Roebuck &amp; Co, Chicago / Sears Vincent Price Gallery</i>	13 January–2 February <i>14 November–8 December 1967</i>
	6 Young Sheffield Artists	<i>A.I.A.</i>	13 September–3 October
	Four Young English Artists	Museum Boymans van Beuningen	Rotterdam. 16 April–28 May 1967 (Bernard Cohen, Harold Cohen, Robyn Denny, Richard Smith)
	Derby and District College of Art Students' Exhibition	Midland Group Gallery, Nottingham	9–30 November 1968
	New Generation	Whitechapel	Toured in USA and Canada April–May
	Young Contemporaries	F.B.A./R.S.B.A. and tour	London 30 January–27 February. Then tour of 27 works 21 September–13 October inc. York City Art Gallery, Notts. and Staffs.

Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1968	Hornsey Strikes Again	I.C.A.	July. Exhibition organized by sit-in contingent, arranged in two weeks
	<i>Painted in Britain</i>	<i>Macy's New York</i>	<i>I.C.A. organized with Mario Amaya</i>
	Young Generation: Great Britain	Akademie der Kunst, Berlin	
	Fourteen Young German Artists	Staatliche Kunsthalle, Baden-Baden	5 April-7 July
	Young Artists of Holland	Kunsthalle, Berne	2 November-1 December
	Thirty Young Swiss Artists	Kunsthaus, Zurich	17 January-17 March
	<i>Artists of Today and Tomorrow</i>	<i>New Grafton Gallery</i>	<i>Summer, first annual (still going in 2003) mostly in 2 parts, with 50-60 artists of varying status</i>
	<i>Now Open: Important Paintings of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and Young Artists</i>	<i>Annely Juda</i>	<i>June-September 1968</i>
	<i>Two Young Artists in the Midlands</i>	<i>Midland Group Gallery, Nottingham</i>	<i>20 July-3 August</i>
	Four Young Artists	South London Gallery	3-24 February 1968 (David Carr, Alan Howling, Michael Knowles, Philip White)
	New British Painters and Sculptors	I.C.A.	London Press Exchange sponsorship. Selection from Young Contemporaries. 13 February-23 March
	<i>Preview London</i>	Camden Arts Centre	Summer exhibition
	Scottish Young Contemporaries Prize Winners	I.C.A.	11-23 March 1969
1969	When Attitude Becomes Form	I.C.A.	28 August-27 September
	Young Contemporaries		first time Art Students selected work. 11 April-1 May
	6 at the Hayward	Hayward	Aged 25-35, selector Michael Compton (Tate). 13 November-21 December
	<i>Young and Fantastic</i>	<i>Macy's NY, Eaton's and I.C.A.</i>	<i>Organized via I.C.A. 17 September-8 November. 12 artists b.1937-49. I.C.A. preview 31 July-17 August</i>
	Nine Young Artists: Theodoron Awards	Guggenheim NYC	Included Barry Flanagan and John Walker (with Richter, Nauman and Serra). Initiative to grow the Guggenheim's collection of young artists' work. 23 May-29 June
	Young Contemporaries	Royal Academy	Art Students selected work (had done for the first time in 1969). Final one for a few years.
	Third Annual Exhibition of Young Midland Artists	Midland Arts Centre, Birmingham	November 1970
	Walls and Floors: Work by Fourteen Young Artists	Camden Arts Centre	26 September-18 October
	The Strange Case of Planet Earth: Exhibition by Students from the Somerset College of Art Foundation Course	Camden Arts Centre	26 August-11 September
	Three Schools Show	Royal Academy	Also 1968 (R.A., R.C.A., Slade)
	First Show	Serpentine	Post-graduate work from Chelsea, Manchester, Birmingham. 2-24 May. Inaugural Serpentine exhibition
	Young American Artists	Contemporary Arts Center, Cincinnati	
	Summer Show	Serpentine	intro by William Packer p. 2: policy 'to select from work submitted only by those who are under 35, who have been working for some time since leaving Art College, and who are yet to show significantly in London'. Organized in three to six parts, each showing a few young artists. Ran until at least 1983
1971	Ten Young Artists: Theodoron Awards	Guggenheim NYC	24 September-7 November
1972	Twenty-Four Young Los Angeles Artists	LACMA	11 May-4 July
	Serpentine Directions	Serpentine	'5 Young Artists Selected from Serpentine Gallery Shows 1970-71'
	<i>Young Irish Artists</i>	<i>Richard Demarco Gallery, Edinburgh</i>	<i>January</i>
	<i>Five Young Painters</i>	<i>Leicester Galleries, London</i>	<i>26 July-23 August</i>
	Alan Charlton	Whitechapel	RA student persuaded the gallery to hang his work between shows. 8-15 September
1973	<i>Alan Charlton</i>	<i>Nigel Greenwood</i>	<i>b.1948</i>
	Tim Head	MOMA, Oxford	b.1946
	<i>Students Vintage '73</i>	<i>Nicholas Treadwell Gallery</i>	<i>18 September-6 October</i>
	Byam Shaw School Exhibition	I.C.A.	1-19 December
	Maidstone College of Art Exhibition	I.C.A.	19 June-1 July 1973



Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1974	New Contemporaries	Camden Arts Centre	Revived by Gillian Ayres, Paul Huxley and William Tucker, tutors at London art schools. Renamed. Arts Council funding. Artist selectors, and student committee
	Summer Show of Work by Young British Artists	Serpentine	4-27 May part I (Julian Cooper, Jennifer Durrant, Mark Edwards, Terry New), 1-23 June part II (Kevin Burrows, Knighton Hosking, Kerry Kennedy, Mary Webb, Tony Wilson). Arts Council
1974	Post Graduate Painting Students	Camden Arts Centre	21 August-15 September
	Five Young Artists from Germany	Serpentine	1 November-1 December
	Falmouth School of Art Students	I.C.A.	5-26 January
1975	Seven Young Artists	New 57 Gallery, Edinburgh	21 March-10 April
	Winsor and Newton Award for Final Year Students at London Art Colleges	I.C.A.	5-15 March 1975
	Seven Shows by Seven Young Artists	I.C.A.	Seven artists shown across two exhibitions, 16 July-24 August
1977	New Contemporaries	Lucy Milton Gallery	
1978	New Contemporaries	Royal Academy	4-26 February 1977. R.A. only painting and sculpture: 'live work' at Acme gallery (where it had also run in 1976).
	Six Young Contemporaries	I.C.A.	22 February-22 March. Shows at I.C.A. until 1986
1980	Young American Artists	Bluecoat Gallery, Liverpool	10-21 January
	Young British Artists	Guggenheim NYC	Exxon sponsored show May-June. The first in an annual series culminating in 'Emerging Artists 1978-86' exhibition
	Sculpture by Twenty Three Young Artists	Corporate Fine Art	October-November. Exhibition in Basingstoke
	First Picture Show	Welsh Arts Council, Cardiff	Selected by Clive Adams, shown in two parts March 1980
1981	Stowells Trophy	Sainsbury Centre for Visual Art	Selected from degree shows nationally
	New Contemporaries	Royal Academy diploma galleries	An exhibition of students' paintings and prints. 12 <sup>th</sup> anniversary, 6 <sup>th</sup> there. Average age of exhibitors 22. 216 exhibitors
	Ten Young Painters from Berlin	I.C.A.	21 February-8 March 1981
1982	New Art Platform	Goethe-Institut, London	21 January-26 February
	Christie's Inaugural	Midland Group, Nottingham	For artists who had not exhibited widely. In sections, like the Serpentine Summer Shows
	Serpentine Summer Show	Christie's	August-September 1982, colour coded by college. London colleges. 230 works by approx 180 artists. Subtitled 'The Pick of Graduate Art'
1983	Young German Artists	Serpentine	July-September in two parts. Open submission then studio visits. Since May 1970, 10 July-8 August part I (Twelve Figurative Painters). 14 August-12 September part II
	Young Blood	Goethe-Institut, London	September. Show of DAAD scholarship holders
	Three Decades of Artists from Inner London Art Schools	Riverside Studios	First of a series of approx. five exhibitions on this theme
	Whitworth Young Contemporaries	Royal Academy	6-23 October. 60 artists, generationally mixed. Inner London Education Authority sponsored it
	Julian Opie	Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester	Also in 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991
	New Contemporaries	Lisson	b.1958 16 September-15 October
	Germinations	I.C.A.	24 September-23 October. Also L.V.A. Gallery. Chisenhale and Air Gallery. Mixed student/professional selectors.
1984	New Contemporaries	Museum Fridericianum, Kassel	European Exhibition for Young Artists ran until 1994 annually. This one 30 September-29 November, then touring to Edinburgh and the R.C.A.
	Christie's Inaugural	I.C.A.	22 September-21 October. Prizes inc Winsor & Newton; Guardian Purchase Prize; Chelsea Arts Club. first year as Limited Company. Conference: 'The Business of Making Art'
1985	Lisa Milroy	Christie's	August 1984, colour-coded by college. London colleges. 7-24 August. Again subtitled 'The Pick of New Graduate Art'
	Eight Young German Artists	Nicola Jacobs	b.1959
	The 85° Show	Goethe-Institut, London	August
	Young Artists	Serpentine Gallery	23 artists, sponsored by Time Out, 'a selection of work from this year's London art college graduates' 10-26 August
1986	New Contemporaries	Thomas Agnew and Sons	
	Fresh Art	I.C.A., Hutton Gallery Newcastle and Bluecoat Gallery Liverpool	Left student organisers with personal debt. 11 March-6 April. Catalogue inc history of Young and New Contemporaries by Andrew Lambirth. Crisis prompted feasibility report commissioned by the Arts Council.
	First Showing	Barbican Concourse	Assoc with Nicholas Treadwell Gallery. 30 July-30 August. Selected by Treadwell; 106 exhibitors at art school or just left.
1987	Grenville Davey	Thumb Gallery	15 April-9 May 1986 subtitled: an exhibition of drawings, screen prints and paintings by three young artists recently graduated from college
	Young Artists from Northern Ireland	Lisson	September-October. b.1961
		Solomon Gallery	June

Year	Title	Venue	Notes
1988	Freeze	Surrey Docks	6 August–14 November. Plough Way, SE16. Followed by <i>Modern Medicine 3</i> (March–16 May, Drummond Road SE16) Sponsored by the London Docklands Development Corporation; Saatchi and Saatchi; The Prince's Trust; Thames and Hudson; the South Bank Centre; the Arts Council; <i>Electrosonic</i> ; the <i>Burlington Magazine</i> ; and <i>Jacobson Townsley</i>
	New Talent <i>Ian Davenport, Michael Landy, Gary Hume</i>	Winchester Gallery <i>Karsten Schubert</i>	Southern Arts touring exhibition. 14 September–7 October. Then Brighton, Reading, Farnham.
1989	BT New Contemporaries	I.C.A.	16 November–7 December
	New Contemporaries [Forty Under Forty]	<i>Christies</i>	Relaunched, sponsored by BT until 1994. 13 December–14 January
	<i>Gary Hume</i>	[feature in Art & Design magazine]	<i>Sale 14 March. Took place at R.C.A. About 20 artists, many recent graduates</i>
	<i>Gerard Williams</i>	<i>Karsten Schubert</i>	b.1962
	<i>Young British Artist Show</i>	<i>Anthony d'Offay</i>	b.1959 11 January–12 February
	Three Young Artists	<i>Esther Schipper, Cologne</i>	<i>Angela Bulloch, Michael Landy and Gary Hume</i>
1990	<i>Ian Davenport</i>	Mall Galleries / Holdsworth Fine Art <i>Waddington</i>	First solo show based on his degree show. B.1966

APPENDIX 3: ANALYSIS OF ARTISTS' AGE AT PURCHASE BY THE TATE, THE BRITISH COUNCIL, THE ARTS COUNCIL AND THE CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN PURCHASES FOR THE BRITISH COUNCIL, 1938 TO 1978										
[....] indicates threshold for artists aged thirty five in that year										
Acquisition Year (& no. of years)	1938 (1)	1944 (1)	1947 (1)	1953 (1)	56-7 (2)	60-61 (2)	64-65 (2)	67-68 (2)	72-74 (3)	77-78 (2)
TATE										
British Collection										
# Dead	21	7	22	2	9	12	7	53	34	14
# Living	Llewellyn b1858 Sickert b1860 Walker b1861 Bland b1864 Moira b1867 Russell b1867 Birch b1869 Nicholson b1872 Dodd b1874 Knight b1874 James b1875 Lewis b1882 Wadsworth b1889 Cundall b1890 Spencer b1891 Bateman b1892 Gwynne-Jones b1892 Hitchens b1893 Armstrong b1893 Pitchforth b1895 Coxon b1896 Ardizzone b1900 Lambourn b1900 Ginesi b1902 ..... Houthuesen b1903	Bell b1879 Spencer b1891 Pitchforth b1895 Sutherland b1903 Piper b1903 Sorell b1904 Hillier b1905 ..... Rosoman b1917	Smith b1879 Lewis b1882 Grant b1885 Spencer b1891 Sutherland b1891 Moyrhan b1910 Spear b1911 .....	Smith b1879 Grant b1885 Spencer b1891 Freedman b1901 Evans b1910 Townsend b1909 ..... Lanyon b1918 Reynolds b1926	Lamb b1885 Lowry b1887 Richards b1906 Pasmore b1908 Weight b1908 Vaughan b1912 Butler b1913 Scott b1913 De Grey b1918 ..... Craaton b1922 Inlander b1925 Kinley b1926 Reynolds b1926 Sutton b1928 Braby b1928	Dodgson b1890 Moore b1898 Hepworth b1903 Mac Taggart b1903 Wilde b1905 Wells b1907 Pasmore b1908 McWilliam b1909 Herman b1911 Hilton b1911 Kessell b1914 Gear b1915 Armitage b1916 Roberts-Jones b1916 Lanyon b1918 Clough b1919 Heath b1920 Heron b1920 Hoskin b1921 ..... Blow b1925 Fry b1927 Braby b1928 Brown b1928				
Modern Foreign / Sculpture Collection							[hereafter Modern Foreign works]			
# Dead	3	4	2	2	4	8	18	14	32	31
# Living	Kardinsky b1866 Matisse b1869 Despiau b1874 Utrillo b1883	Bonard b1867 Rouault b1871 Wheeler b1892 Sheaping b1901	Chagall b1887 Morandi b1890 Machin b1911 .....	Matisse b1869 Epstein b1880 ..... Frank b1930	Nimpuich b1897 McWilliam b1909 ..... Cippa b1921	Amiet b1868 Picasso b1881 Bissier b1893 Ehrlich b1897	Picasso b1881 Durst b1883 Grant b1885 Hitchens b1893	Gabo b1890 Hitchens b1893 Nicholson b1894 Lindner b1902	Grant b1885 Gabo b1890 Vezelay b1893 Roberts b1895	Kokoschka b1886 Gwynne Jones b1892 Nicholson b1894

<p>Gilbert b1884 Dobson b1888 Underwood b1890 Lambert b1901 .....</p>	<p>..... Machin b1911</p>	<p>Calliyanis b1923 Ropelle b1923 Dova b1925 Rebeyrolle b1926</p>	<p>Giacometti b1901 Polakoff b1906 Bionda b1913 Fazzini b1913 Greco b1913 Chighine b1914 Smith b1915 Cesar b1921 Ajmore b1923 ..... Romiti b1928 Banc b1930</p>	<p>Roberts b1895 Magritte b1898 Fontana b1899 Penrose b1900 Bellmer b1902 Ginesi b1902 Stokes b1902 Hepworth b1903 Agar b1904 Gross b1905 Wells b1907 Vasarely b1908 Jackson b1911 Barns-Graham b1912 Liberman b1912 Valenti b1912 Hoflehner b1916 Gowing b1918 De Grey b1918 Clough b1919 Mundy b1919 Heath b1920 Heron b1920 Ipousteguy b1920 Hamilton b1922 Sobrinio b1923 Soto b1923 Clarke b1924 Souza b1924 Kramer b1925 Taka b1925 Aitchison b1926 Giobbi b1926 Alley b1927 Trova b1927 Le Parc b1928 ..... Pomodoro b1930 Kneale b1930 Sedgley b1930 Uecker b1930 Chandra b1931 Mack b1931 Uglow b1932 Borus b1934 Evans b1934 Hoyland b1934 King b1934 Stephenson b1934 Yvaral b1934 Boney b1936 Stella b1936</p>	<p>Monnington b1902 Hepworth b1903 Piper b1903 Rivera b1904 Stahly b1911 Heron b1920 Bury b1922 Hamilton b1922 Lichtenstein b1923 Middleditch b1923 Tapias b1923 Paolozzi b1924 Adams b1927 Denny b1930 Kneale b1930 Riley b1931 ..... Lenk b1933 Borus b1934 King b1934 Moon b1934 Caulfield b1936 Wilkin b1936</p>	<p>Debuffet b1901 Sutherland b1903 Burra b1905 Martin b1905 Wolff b1905 Wells b1907 Pasmore b1908 Collins b1908 Fayer b1910 Moyrihan b1910 Hilton b1911 Onslow-Ford b1912 Davie b1920 Heron b1920 Beys b1921 Turnbull b1922 Jenkins b1923 Baj b1924 Clarke b1924 Huebler b1924 Noland b1924 Morellet b1926 Judd b1928 Le Witt b1928 Visser b1928 Cook b1929 Golding b1929 Oldenburg b1929 Amart b1930 Ayres b1930 Denny b1930 Hirst b1930 Southall b1930 Mehring b1931 Morris b1931 Smith b1931 Kitaj b1932 Vaux b1932 Cohen b1933 Flavin b1933 Rosenquist b1933 Von Graevenitz b1934 Law b1934 Stephenson b1934 Andre b1935 Tucker b1935 Stella b1936 Jaray b1937 ..... Oppenheim b1938 Bell b1939</p>	<p>Moore b1898 Agar b1904 Gross b1905 Colquhoun b1906 Wells b1907 Coldstream b1908 Bacon b1909 Herman b1911 Barns Graham b1912 Mitchell b1912 Fross b1915 Hayman b1915 Box b1919 Clough b1919 Latham b1921 Cruz Diez b1923 MacKenzie b1923 Clarke b1924 Hamilton Finlay b1925 Smith b1928 McComb b1930 Roth b1930 Auerbach b1931 Hodgkin b1932 Kitaj b1932 Andrew b1933 Law b1934 Andre b1935 Moon b1937 Groth b1938 Flanagan b1941 ..... Long b1945 Head b1946</p>
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										Whiteley b1939									Donagh b1939 Lijn b1939 Rinke b1939 Serra b1939 Walker b1939 Bochner b1940 Burgin b1941 Craig-Martin b1941 Dibbers b1941 Flanagan b1941 Nauman b1941 Self b1941 Gilbert & George b1942 Graham b1942 Hall b1943 Buckley b1944 McLean b1944 Hilliard b1945 Long b1945 Tremlett b1945 Davies b1946 Fulton b1946 Clark b1949	
Total no. artists bought per year	57	24	34	15		17.5	29	40	46	47.3	40.5									
Of whom living	33	13	10	11		11	19	27.5	12.5	25.3	18									
Of whom under 35	1	2	0	3		5.5	3	8	3	8.3	1									
% living under 35	3%	15%	0%	27%		50%	16%	29%	24%	33%	6%									
% under 35 including historical purchases	2%	8%	0%	20%		31%	10%	20%	7%	18%	3%									

Acquisition Year	1942	1944	1947	1953	1956-7	1960-61	1964-65	1967-68	1972-74	1978	
BRITISH COUNCIL (non multiples)	Steer b1860 Bone b1876 Smart 1879 Morley b1881 Jowett b1882 Roberts b1895 Dring b1904 ..... Freeth b1912 Cowern b1913	-	Lear b1813 Sickert b1860 Walker b1861 Bell b1879 Grant b1885 Meninsky b1891 Armstrong b1893 Le Witt b1900 Tunnard b1900 Wood b1901 Bawden b1903 Hennell b1903 Ravilious b1903 Sutherland b1903 Aldridge b1905 Gross b1905 Collins b1908 Flurry b1909 Mason b1910 ..... Vaughan b1912 Colquhoun b1914 La Dell b1914 Minton b1917	Nicholson b1894 Richards b1902 Sutherland b1903 Wells b1907 Butler b1913 Frost b1915 Adams b1917 ..... Paolozzi b1924 Reynolds b1926	Moore b1898 Richards b1902 Hepworth b1903 Pasmore b1908 Hton b1911 Scott b1913 Chadwick b1914 Wynter b1915 Lanyon b1918 Paolozzi b1924 ..... Blow b1925	Moore b1898 Chadwick b1914 Frost b1915 .....	Moore b1898 Richards b1902 Hepworth b1903 Pasmore b1908 Hton b1911 Scott b1913 Chadwick b1914 Wynter b1915 Lanyon b1918 Paolozzi b1924 ..... Blow b1925	Nicholson b1894 Gilbert b1910 Hilton b1911 Meadows b1915 Heron b1920 Cohen b1928 ..... Irwin b1931 Hodgkin b1932 Cohen b1933 Hurst b1934 Hoyland b1934	Ayres b1930 Riley b1931 ..... Hoyland b1934 King b1934 Caulfield b1936	Moore b1898 Martin b1905 Hughes b1920 Ernest b1922 Hamilton b1922 Joseph b1929 Denny b1930 Hill b1930 Riley b1931 Smith b1931 Blake b1932 Green b1932 Cohen b1933 Hoyland b1934 Moon b1934 Stephenson b1934 Hephter b1935 Tucker b1935 Sandle b1936 Wise-Cobotaru b1936 Hockney b1937 Phillips b1937 ..... Huxley b1938 Donagh b1939 Walker b1939 Barker b1940 Craig-Martin b1941 Flanagan b1941 Self b1941 Jacklin b1943 Plackman b1943 Boyd)s b1944 Buckley b1944 Scully b1945 Tremlett b1945	Martin b1905 Heath b1917 Turnbull b1922 Furnival b1933 Hoyland b1934 Sandle b1936 Stevens b1937 Leverett b1938 Tillyer b1938 Flanagan b1941 ..... Breakwell b1943 Ginsborg b1945 Hambling b1945 Hilliard b1945 Morris b1945 Nash b1945 Bergman b1946 Cox b1946 Head b1946 Lawrence b1946 Mason b1946 McKeever b1946 Sturton b1948
% under 35s	22%	-	17%	22%	0%	9%	45%	60%	37%	57%	

Acquisition Year					4 months ending 31.3.62	1962-3	Year ending 30.11.64	6 months ending 31.5.65	
CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN					Mackenzie b1923 ..... Cohen b1928 Tilson b1928 Ayres b1930 Hill b1930 Irwin b1931	Davie b1920 Hoskin b1921 ..... Cohen b1928 Tilson b1928 Ayres b1930 Denny b1930 Smith b1931 Wall b1931 Hoyland b1934	Mitchell b1912 Davie b1920 Plumb b1927 Tilson b1928 ..... Denny b1930 Sedgley b1930 Blake b1932 Cohen b1933 King b1934 Boshier b1937 Jones b1937 Phillips b1937 Riley b1931	Martin b1905 Martin b1907 Kidner b1917 Davie b1920 Heron b1920 ..... Ayres b1930 Hill b1930 Riley b1931 Bolus b1934 Annesley b1936 Caulfield b1936 Wise b1936 Witkin b1936 Boshier b1937 Hall b1937 Scott b1937 Huxley b1938 Donaldson b1939 Woodham b1940	
% artists under 35					83%	78%	69%	74%	

Acquisition Year	1942	1944	1947	1953	1956-7	1960-1	1964-5	1967-8	1972-4	1978
<b>ARTS COUNCIL</b>	Walker b1861 Harrick b1864 Bayer b1869 Hodgins b1869 Waterfield b1874 Ginner b1878 Pearce b1878 Fisher Prout b1881 Jameson b1881 Morley b1881 Rutherford b1881 Grant b1885 Baynes b1887 Underwood b1890 Meninsky b1891 Todd b1891 Gwynne-Jones b1892 Spencer b1892 Armstrong b1893 Hitchens b1893 Dunlop b1894 Du Plessis b1894 Lyon b1894 Murray b1894 Pitchforth b1895 Benois b1896 Coxon b1896 Bell b1897 Ehrlich b1897 Horton b1897 Faithful b1898 Rhodes b1898 Charlton b1899 Fitton b1899 Kirk b1900 Preece b1900 Tunnard b1900 Frankel b1901 Hennell b1903 Richards b1903 Le Bas b1904 Sorrell b1904 Aldridge b1905 Burra b1905 Lunn b1905 Martin b1905	Gillies b1898 Rogers b1907 ..... Bell b1910	Lamb b1883 Nicholson b1894 Hepworth b1903 Aldridge b1905 Maxwell b1905 Rogers b1907 Trevelyan b1910 ..... Vaughan b1912 Colquhoun b1914 Minton b1917 Ayrtton b1921	Sickert b1860 Epstein b1880 Rutherford b1881 Nash b1889 Underwood b1890 Gwynne-Jones b1892 Hitchens b1893 Nicholson b1894 Ehrlich b1897 Clutton-Brock b1904 Medley b1905 Pasmore b1908 Evans b1910 Barns-Graham b1912 Vaughan b1912 Scott b1913 Armitage b1916 ..... Feiler b1918 Gowing b1918 Clough b1919 Smith b1928 Frank b1930	Bevan b1865 Fergusson b1874 Glinan b1876 John b1876 Bloch b1883 Grant b1885 Nicholson b1890 Bomberg b1890 Jones b1895 Nicholson b1894 Roberts b1895 Arizzone b1900 Hayer b1901 Wood b1901 Monnington b1902 MacTaggart b1903 Sutherland b1903 Gibbs b1905 Gross b1905 Medley b1905 Pasmore b1908 Bacon b1909 McWilliam b1909 Trevelyan b1910 Wright b1911 Vaughan b1912 Butler b1913 Chadwick b1914 Frost b1915 Meadows b1915 Wynter b1915 Adams b1917 Nolan b1917 ..... Duxbury b1921 Hoskin b1921 George b1923 Middleitch b1923 Inlander b1925 Coker b1926 Kinley b1926 Fry b1927 Fussell b1927 Greaves b1927 Bratby b1928 King b1928 Smith b1928	Gotlib 1890 Vezlay b1892 Nash b1893 Vogel b1897 Burn b1899 Potter b1900 Kestelman b1905 Martin b1905 Wells b1908 Bicar b1909 McWilliam b1909 Gilbert b1910 Hilton b1911 Wright b1911 Barns Graham b1912 Michell b1912 Jones b1913 Robb b1913 Pasmore b1915 Wynter b1915 Lanyon b1918 Reynolds b1918 Clough b1919 Mundy b1919 Richmond b1919 Dave b1920 Heron b1920 Ayrtton b1921 Huskin b1921 Craxton b1922 Irwin b1922 Turnbull b1922 Forge b1923 MacKenzie b1923 Middleitch b1923 Dalwood b1924 ..... Inlander b1925 Rummel b1925 Alley b1927 Fry b1927 Fussell b1927 Brown b1928 Cohen b1928 Sutton b1928 Greaves b1927 Bratby b1928 King b1928 Smith b1928	Drummond b1880 Brodzky b1885 Dismor b1885 Moore b1898 Stokes b1902 Burra b1905 Gross b1905 Martin b1905 Pasmore b1908 Rothenstein b1908 Carter b1909 Giardelli b1911 Robb b1913 Mellis b1914 Gowing b1915 Hayman b1915 Wynter b1915 Armitage b1916 Baty b1916 Adams b1917 Kidner b1917 Turner b1918 Clough b1919 Partridge b1919 Heron b1920 Hughes b1920 Lowndes b1921 Startup b1921 Ernest b1922 Hamilton b1922 Fullard b1923 Lee b1923 Rutherford b1923 Caro b1924 Clarke b1924 Dalwood b1924 Paolozzi b1924 Thornton b1925 Murphy b1927 Plumb b1927 Smedley b1927 Andrews b1928 Bassingthwaite b1928 Brown b1928 Sutton b1928 Tilson b1928 Bell b1930	Wallis b1855 Segal b1875 Lowry b1887 Armstrong b1893 Thomson b1894 Roberts b1895 Moore b1898 Flepoworth b1903 Richards b1903 Martin b1905 Medley b1905 Lessore b1907 Pasmore b1908 Weight b1908 Moyrihan b1910 Hilton b1911 Koper b1913 Scott b1913 Frost b1915 Gear b1915 Hayman b1915 Meadows b1915 Wynter b1915 Kidner b1917 De Grey b1918 Clough b1919 Farmer b1919 Mundy b1919 Dunstan b1920 Hoskin b1921 Lowndes b1921 Ernest b1922 Turnbull b1922 Camp b1923 Forge b1923 Caro b1924 Clapham b1924 Dalwood b1924 Inlander b1925 Richardson Jones b1925 Froy b1926 Kinley b1926 Kosoff b1926 Reynolds b1926 Turner b1926 Greaves b1927	Medley b1905 Rogers b1907 Roger b1908 Hilton b1911 Hardy b1913 Thubron b1915 Clough b1919 Camp b1923 Fullard b1923 Weschke b1925 Smedley b1927 Clarworthy b1928 Smith b1928 Sutton b1928 Boden b1929 Joseph b1929 Troostwyk b1929 Armat b1930 First b1930 Irwin b1931 Smith b1931 House b1932 Norris b1932 Campbell b1933 Furnival b1933 Berry b1934 Hoyland b1934 King b1934 Moon b1934 Abrahams b1935 Beatrice b1935 Perry b1935 Perton b1935 Tucker b1935 Carder b1936 Caulfield b1936 Sandle b1936 Boshier b1937 Hockney b1937 Machin b1937 Masoco b1937 Park b1937 Huxley b1938 Upton b1938 Phillips b1937 Scott b1937 Stevens b1937 Ward b1937 .....	Sander b1876 Weston b1886 Johnstone b1897 Porter b1900 Evans b1907 Rogers b1907 Colquhoun b1908 Weight b1908 Cato b1910 Moyle b1914 Horsfield b1917 Dominic b1920 Beard b1923 Camp b1923 Earnshaw b1924 Edwards b1924 Fox b1925 Inlander b1925 Kosoff b1926 Loveface b1926 Reynolds b1926 Andrews b1928 Willing b1928 Williams b1929 Ayres b1930 Riley b1931 Schadeberg b1931 Henri b1932 Madden b1932 Mayer b1932 Wilson b1932 Duffy b1933 Wise b1933 Hollist b1935 Jones b1936 Dalton b1937 Jary b1937 Kaye b1937 Montgomery b1937 Moon b1937 Moore b1937 Huxley b1938 Upton b1938 Fenner b1939 Hughes b1939 Jones b1939 McLean b1939

Maxwell b1905 Dunbar b1906 ..... .... Ellis b1907 Rogers b1907 Pasmore b1908 Rothenstein b1908 Weight b1908 Carr b1909 Lines b1909 Shephard b1909 Church b1910 Moynihan b1910 Devas b1911 Spear b1911 Palmer b1912 Suddaby b1912 Wood b1912 Appelbee b1914 Colquhoun b1914 Kessell b1914 MacDonald b1914 Rowntree b1915 Jonzen b1916 Gowing b1918	Willing b1928 Wishart b1928 Auerbach b1931 Wright b1931 Lloyd b1932	Sheppard b1930 Weatherston b1930 Whishaw b1930 Fell b1931 Harwell b1931 Renson b1931 Schmidt b1931 Harris b1932 Rutherford b1932 Tindle b1932 Uglov b1932 Crozier b1933 King b1934 Stephenson b1934 Bevan b1935 Gilbert b1935 Webb b1935 Annesley b1936 Hockney b1937 Wragg b1937	Smith b1928 Tilson b1928 ..... Dunn b1929 Eaves b1929 Hamilton Frazer b1929 Ayres b1930 Denny b1930 Frank b1930 Kneale b1930 Sedgley b1930 Auerbach b1931 Chandra b1931 Hubbard b1931 Morrell b1931 Steele b1931 Wall b1931 Blake b1932 Uglov b1932 Cohen b1933 Lin b1933 Sladden b1933 Collinge b1934 Evans b1934 Stephenson b1934 Gilbert b1935 Rugg b1935 Caulfield b1936 Ingham b1936 Wise Gobotar u b1936 Hall b1937 Horn b1937 Jary b1937 Jones b1937 Unsworth b1937 Wragg b1937 Huxley b1938 Perrymann b1938 Piche b1938 Pye b1938 Selway b1938 Bradys b1939 Lessore b1939 Sanderson b1939 Whitley b1939 Cook b1940 Lloyd Jones b1940	Pearce b1928 Sutton b1928 Tilson b1928 Thompson b1928 Joseph b1929 Ayres b1930 Coviello b1930 Denny b1930 Hill b1930 Kneale b1930 Auerbach b1931 Fell b1931 Smith b1931 Steele b1931 Plummer b1931 ..... Green b1932 Hodgkin b1932 Kiraj b1932 Uglov b1932 Fielding b1933 Lin b1933 Ascott b1934 Jones b1934 King b1934 Law b1934 Hoyland b1934 Mordand b1934 Drever b1935 Knowles b1935 Pethick b1935 Annesley b1936 Cardor b1936 Caulfield b1936 Lim b1936 Saunders b1936 Wise Gobotar u b1936 Hall b1937 Humphreys b1937 Scott b1937 Stevens b1937 Ward b1937 Lowe b1938 Piche b1938 Pickert b1938 Cartwright b1939 Walker b1939 Simpson b1940	Huxley b1938 Koudella b1938 Lancaster b1938 Loker b1938 Lowe b1938 Tilley b1938 Whitaker b1938 Whitfield b1938 Benton-Harris b1939 Donagh b1939 Williams b1939 Hodgson b1940 Panting b1940 Yates b1940 Burgin b1941 Craig-Martin b1941 Ray-Jones b1941 Yhap b1941 Arnould b1942 Art & Language b.v.42 Banish b1942 Bellamy b1942 Carter b1942 Durrant b1942 Hatcher b1942 Miller b1942 Spencer b1942 Thomson b1942 Bates b1943 Breakwell b1943 Cina b1943 Gilbert & George b1943 Hall b1943 Inshaw b1943 Jacklin b1943 Packman b1943 Willats b1943 Buckley b1944 Claridge b1944 Evison b1944 Jacobs b1944 Lamelas b1945 McLean b1944 Myers b1944 Naylor b1944 Oginz b1944 Preist b1944 Simpson b1940	Walker b1939 Atkinson b1940 Barker b1940 Beers b1940 Harrison b1940 Khanna b1940 Burnett b1941 Flinnagan b1941 Hill b1941 Joyce b1941 Pope b1941 Bellamy b1942 Greenhill b1942 Herman b1942 Maïne b1942 Murray b1942 ..... Bradshaw b1943 Brown b1943 Hall b1943 Hedges b1943 Baxter b1944 Abramson b1944 De Ville b1944 Gibbons b1944 Hawkes b1944 Joseph b1944 Myers b1944 Rickaby b1944 Rush b1944 Williams b1944 Benning b1945 Cocker b1945 Nash b1945 Saunders b1945 Bergman b1946 Brick b1946 Head b1946 King b1946 Lange b1946 Macdonald b1946 Mason b1946 Rae b1946 Russell b1946 Thomas b1946 Redfern b1947 Webb b1947 Steele-Perkins b1947 Altiero b1948
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									Simpson b1940 Woodham b1940 Pope b1941 Parsons b1943	Woodham b1940 Kent b1941 Pope b1941 Wilson b1941 Durrant b1942 Jarman b1942 Spencer b1942 Cina b1943 Dunstone b1943 Martin b1943 Draper b1944 Edmunds b1944 Tebby b1944	Smith b1944 Tebby b1944 Beatie b1945 Dye b1945 Hilliard b1945 Long b1945 Milow b1945 Newman b1945 Scully b1945 Tremlett b1945 Vaughan b1945 Cobb b1946 Davies b1946 Fulton b1946 Killip b1946 Mason b1946 McCormick b1947 Royle b1947 Charlton b1948 Dobbie b1949 Ecobichon b1949 Stezaker b1949 Sykes b1949 Keegan b1950 Curwood b1951 Meadows b1952	Dugger b1948 Griffin b1948 Haferichter b1948 Heatherington b1948 Levine b1948 McGrath b1948 Rock b1948 Schwob b1948 Turnell b1948 Barber b1949 Dunseath b1949 Easychuk b1949 Ecobichon b1949 Heindorff b1949 Read b1949 Stezaker b1949 England b1950 Hugonin b1950 Kelly b1950 Ingflis b1951 Chapman b1952 Long b1952 Lowe b1952 Marlow b1952 Meadows b1952 Par b1952 Florsheim b1953 Answorth b1954 Butterworth b1954 Knorr b1954 Kivland b1955 Johnston b1956 Richon b1956	51%
% under 35	31%								50%	42%	61%		

APPENDIX 4: TATE ACQUISITIONS OF ARTISTS AGED 30 OR UNDER AT POINT OF ACQUISITION, 1899–1973 (MOST RECENT ACQUISITION FIRST)

ARTIST	BORN	WORK ACQUIRED	IMAGE	YEAR OF ACQUISITION	AGE AT ACQUISITION (& EXECUTION)
John Hilliard	1945	Sixty Seconds of Light	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1973	28 (25)
Bruce McLean	1944	Six Sculptures	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1973	29 (24)
Keith Milow	1945	Print (one of a group of Milow acquisitions)	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1971 (1970)	26 (24/23)
Nigel Hall	1943	Plateau Marker 1	No image	1971	28 (27)
Bill Jacklin	1943	Catena	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1971	28 (27)
Peter Hide	1944	Tripod	No image	1970	26 (26)
Peter Logan	1943	Square Dance	No image	1970 (Contemp. Art Society)	27 (27)
Clive Barker	1940	Splash	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1970	30 (27)
Barry Flanagan	1941	Aing j gni aa	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1969	28 (24)
Michael Kenny	1941	Place	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1969	28 (26)
Michael Craig-Martin	1941	Four Identical Boxes with Lids Reversed	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1969	28 (undated)
Paul Huxley	1938	Untitled no. 92	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1968	30 (30)

Anthony Green	1939	Souvenir de Jeunesse: Madeleine Joscelyne's Lounge	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1968 (Chantrey bequest)	29 (28)
John Walker	1939	Lesson 1	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1968	29 (29)
John Wragg	1937	Opus	No image	1966	29 (28)
Malcolm Carder	1936	Contraction no 21/64	No image	1966	30 (28)
Jim Dine	1965	Walking Dream with Four Foot Clamp	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1965	30
Frank Stella	1936	Hyena Stomp	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1965	29 (26)
Olwyn Bowey	1936	Portrait of LS Lowry	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1964 (Chantrey bequest)	28 (28)
Garth Evans	1934	White no.34	No image	1964	30
John Hoyland	1934	No 22	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1964 (Contemporary Art Society)	30 (28)
John Wragg	1937	Funeral Group	No image	1964	27 (26)
Jean-Pierre Yvaral	1934	Kinetic Relief – Optical Acceleration	No image	1964	30 (29)
Gillian Wise	1936	Brown, Black and White Relief with Prisms	No image	1963	27 (26)
Matt Rugg	1935	Painted Unit Relief	No image	1963	28 (28)
Frank Roth	1936	Transylvania (also Jodrell Bank)	No image	1963 (gift of W C de Vry) and 1965 (gift of Romie Shapiro)	27 (26)
Antony Donaldson	1939	Take Five	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1963	24 (23)
David	1937	A First Marriage	IMAGE	1963	26 (25)



Hockney		(a Marriage of Styles) 1962	REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	(presented by the Friends of the Tate)	
Iqbal Geoffrey	1939	Epitaph	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1962 (presented by A.S.Alley)	23 (19)
Bernard Cohen	1933	Early Mutation Green no. 11 (and Phoenix)	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1962 (E.J.Power ) (and purchase)	29
Ian Stephenson	1934	Polychromatic G	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1962	28 (27)
Brett Whiteley	1939	Untitled Red Painting (also Woman in a Bath II acq 1964)	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1961	22 (21)
Euan Uglow	1932	Standing Nude	No image	1961	29 (29)
Jef Banc	1930	Pair-Bearing Matrix	No image	1960 (presented by C Damiano)	30
Frank Auerbach	1931	EOW Nude (and small head of EOW)	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1959 (1959) (other work bought & gifted by the artist in 1961)	28 (23)
Michael Andrews	1928	A Man who Suddenly Fell Over	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1958	30
Anthony Fry	1927	Dancing Figures	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1957	30
Philip Sutton	1928	Autumn Flowers	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1956	28 (27)
John Bratby	1928	Still Life with Chip Frier, 1954	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1956	28 (26)
Derrick	1927	Domes of Venice	IMAGE	1955	28 (27)

Greaves			REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT		
Bernard Buffet	1928	Portrait of the Artist	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1955 (presented by J Spreiregen)	27 (26)
Jack Smith	1928	Mother Bathing Child	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1955	27 (25)
Alan Reynolds	1926	Keeper of the Dark Copse II, 1951 (also Summer: Young September's Cornfield acq 1956)	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1953 (presented by R.D.S.) (latter by Chantrey)	27 (25)
Andre Minaux	1923	Arm Chair in an Interior	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1953	30 (28)
Elizabeth Frink	1930	Bird	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1953	23 (22)
Roger Grand	1922	Nude	No Image	1952	30 (29)
Martin Froy	1926	Young Man Doing up his Shoe	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1952	26 (26)
Lucian Freud	1922	Girl with a White Dog	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1952	30 (29)
Lawrence Gowing	1918	Mrs Roberts	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1945 (Contemporary Art Society)	27 (26)
David McFall	1919	Bull Calf	No image	1943 (Chantrey bequest)	24
Leonard Appelbee	1914	The King Crab & Landscape, Meadle	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1940 (one Chantrey bequest)	26 (24)
Anthony Devas	1911	Mrs Wilson	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING	1940 (Chantrey bequest)	29 (28)

			COPYRIGHT		
J McIntosh Patrick	1907	Winter in Angus	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1935	28 (28)
Janet Cree	1910	Oriental Portrait	No image	1933 (Chantrey bequest)	23 (22)
Winifred Turner	1903	Thought	No image	1933	30 (30)
Stephen Bone	1904	Charles Aitken	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1932 (art fund presentation)	28
Herbert Gurschner	1901	The Annunciation	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1931 (Duveen gift)	30 (28)
Margaret Barker	1907	Any Morning	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1929 (Chantrey Bequest)	22
Robin Guthrie	1902	Head of a Woman	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1927 (Prof Brown gift)	25 (19)
Rodney J Burn	1899	Pick-a-Back	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1927	28 (26)
Claude Muncaster	1903	Demolition of Hay's Wharf	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1926	23 (22)
William Graveney	1904	Cormorants	No image	1926 (Philip Sassoon gift)	22 (22)
George Charlton	1899	Elephants	No image	1924	25
Rodney J Burn	1899	Study of a Girl	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1923	24 (23)
Colin Gill	1892	Study for L'Allegro	No image	1922	30
Winifred Knights	1899	Italian Landscape	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1921	22

Alvaro Guevara	1894	Edith Sitwell	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1920 (Duveen and Art Fund gift)	26
CRW Nevinson	1889	La Mitrailleuse	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1917	29 (27)
Glyn Philpot	1884	Man in Black	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1914 (Francis Howard gift)	30
John Young- Hunter	1874	My Lady's Garden	IMAGE REDACTED PENDING COPYRIGHT	1899	25 (25)